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THIS STUDY GIVES OBSERVATIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE HUTTERITES AS A METHOD OF SOCIALIZATION. THE VALUES TRANSMITTED TO CHILDREN IN SUCH A COMMUNAL SOCIETY ARE EXPLORED. THE COLLECTIVE-ORIENTED PERSONALITY IS PRESENTED AS IT IS DERIVED FROM THE MORAL TEACHINGS. WAYS IN WHICH PERSONS DEVIATE FROM COMMUNITY TEACHINGS AND BECOME DEFECTORS ARE ALSO EXAMINED. DOCUMENTS ON CHILD REARING, SOCIALIZATION, AND THE HUTTERITE CHARTER ARE INCLUDED. (LP)

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EDUCATION AND MARGINALITY IN THE COMMUNAL SOCIETY OF THE HUTTERITES

Cooperative Research Project, OE 2-10-131; Project No. 1683

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The staff of the project is profoundly grateful to the people themselves who trusted our motives and who permitted us to participate in their life without major restrictions. Those of us who carry this trust and the responsibility for reporting the findings objectively are keenly aware of the dangers of oversimplification and of misrepresentation. Persons who make use of the findings are cautioned that the results are exploratory rather than definitive. They are advised to exercise prudence, and to guard against making conclusions that would misrepresent the subject or the findings.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM AND THE OBJECTIVES

The problem

This research report is the outgrowth of an intensive investigation of socialization in one communal society, the Hutterian Brethren, commonly called Hutterites. The Hutterites, an Anabaptist group, are the oldest and the largest Christian communal society in the modern world. Their origins trace to 1528 in Tyrol and Moravia and since 1874-79 they have lived exclusively in North America (Fig. 1). For over 400 years the group has remained in almost complete isolation from other societies. Their entire number of about 15,000 persons live in approximately 170 Bruderhofs or colonies scattered on the agricultural plains of the United States and Canada (Fig. 2). A Bruderhof constitutes the most basic social unit of the society (For diagram see Fig. 3).

The purpose of the project was to advance basic knowledge of the learning processes through observing a cultural setting very different from the typical American one. The aim of the research was not to absorb or otherwise modify the Hutterian system but to study its goals, its methods of achieving them, and its educational processes in the search of knowledge useful to all interested in learning more about motivation, personality, and culture. In the Hutterian Bruderhofs (colonies) the student of society finds a favorable laboratory for the study of not only moral indoctrination but also deviancy. This group was chosen for observation not only because of the contrast between the goals it sets for its members and those emphasized by the American educational system but also because this society was reputed to be successful in relation to its professed goals. The proportion of persons who permanently deserted was believed to be small. The society has had a notable record of survival, homogenity, self-sufficiency, and consistent internal socialization patterns. We set out to discover how persons are trained to live in this communal group. Furthermore, we wanted to know how the marginal persons who permanently defect from the communal group make the transition to the larger society.

There is a renewed interest among educators and students of personality and society for a more adequate frame of reference with regard to theory and practice. Millions of dollars are spent in the development of research and action programs. The scientific revolution of our times has reached a level where a considerable portion of our population is interested in the question: What shall we teach and to what end? (Bruner 1960: 1). The kind of values, skills, and character developed in a specific cultural group is of interest to the student of society.

In a democratic society the goals of education tend to be oriented toward the fulfillment and development of the individual. What are the dimentions of personality and motivation in a society where the goals are communally rather than individually oriented? Where education is interpreted functionally and holistically much can be learned from two contrasting cultures. The American school system, for example, is committed to a freedom which exalts the individual and his rational powers:

> "A person with developed rational powers has the means to be aware of all facts of his existence. In this sense he can live to the fullest. He can escape captivity to his emotions and irrational states. He can enrich his emotional life and direct it toward even higher standards of taste and enjoyment. He can enjoy the political and economic freedoms of the democratic society. He can free himself from the bondage of ignorance and unawareness. He can make of himself a free man." (Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association of the United States 1961: 8)

The Hutterites by contrast emphasize submission to the community, carefully limiting individual initiative and minimizing rationality and personal freedom as ends in themselves.

> "Our children are our noblest, highest, and dearest possession. We permit them not to carry out their headstrong will and carnal practices. We teach them from the beginning to know God, to humble and abase oneself before God, to bring the flesh into subjection, and to slay and kill it. We permit them not to go to other schools since they teach only the wisdom, art, and practices of the world and are silent about divine things. We teach our children from babyhood not to love the temporal but the eternal. Owning property is against the nature and divine plan of God. Temporal goods may not be made one's property. The desire and love of money is neither natural nor necessary." (Tr. from Rideman 1565, 1938 ed; and Ehrenpreis 1652)

Since the young are much the same at birth, it might appear that the task of socializing them is similar in every society. But variations of the what, who, and how of learning are enormously complex. As a nation we face this task with explicit assumptions about the nature of human nature, human values, about the aims of learning, the materials and facilities, and the allocation of personnel and resources. Whether we consider education in the broad sense of day-to-day interaction from birth to death, or in the narrow sense of organized instruction, every society is confronted with the task of taming its "barbarians," in accord with its preferred goals.

A knowledge of the relation of personality to culture and to society has many and varied applications. Although many social scientists have made distinctive contributions to this area of knowledge, many more field studies are needed to broaden the core of descriptive and tested scientific knowledge. Little is known about child training in a society of which the Hutterian group is a type. It is generally agreed that the treatment a child receives in the early years of his life is a great factor in determining his behavior in adult life, including his view of the world, his philosophy of life, his religion, and his ethics. The research on which this report is based was aimed not only at exploring further this general hypothesis but at discovering the relation between child rearing and personality differences in a society that maximizes community self-realization and minimizes individual rights and incentives. How successfully can this be achieved? And what are the conditions by which it is achieved?

Objectives

The objectives of the investigation are summed up in two questions: Under what conditions and by what methods are moral values transmitted to children in a communal society; and under what conditions does the collectively oriented personality deviate from the moral teachings of the communal group?

These objectives were restated for observation in four specific areas of penetration:

1. To formulate the charter or moral postulates of the society, using historical documents as well as established values in the ongoing community.

2. To observe the socialization methods in the community and to describe and classify them objectively.

3. To discover the social and personal characteristics of persons who defect from the communal society through depth interviews with those persons who have left the group.

4. To state the findings in the form of inductive generalizations.

CHAPTER 2. RELATED RESEARCH

A large amount of primary and secondary ethnographic materials are available to the student of the Hutterite group. The long history of the group, the intense and often hostile relations between them and others, and their own interest in chronology has contributed much toward the development of a distinctive body of source materials in the German language. For our purposes the sources and related research may be viewed in three categories: (1) the ethnographic and historical materials, (2) modern studies pertaining to Hutterite institutions and personality, and (3) research dealing specifically with Hutterite education.

Ethnographic and historical materials

Important primary sources of ingroup materials are two Hutterite chronicles published in the twentieth century under the following titles: Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder (1943) and Das Klein-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder (1947), both assembled and edited by Prof. A. J. F. Zieglschmid. The former is known as the Great Chronicle due to the importance attached to the formative and early period of the group, while the latter is simply called the Small Chronicle. The original handwritten copies of these codices were for years unknown to the outside world and were discovered only in modern times. Abridged copies have been found in European libraries.

The Great Chronicle, according to Robert Friedmann, the acknowledged historian of the group, "has a history of its own almost as remarkable as the group itself. Begun in the sixteenth century and continued until 1665 as a record of the history and testimonies of the Brethren, it was carried along by them as their most precious possession through all their long and hazardous pilgrimage until it found its last haven in the so-called colonies (Bruderhöfe) of this group in South Dakota." (Friedmann 1944: 59) Written by at least nine different persons, it is a manuscript volume of 612 folio leaves bound in leather. When discovered by historians the document was published and has appeared in three editions: Beck (1883), Wolkan (1923), and Zieglschmid (1943). The content, says Robert Friedmann (1944:60) is "full of touching details about the life, faith, suffering and steadfastness of the brethren amidst all the hardships and ordeals of a most intolerant world. Many letters from brethren in prisons or on missions throughout the lands of the German tongue are interspersed in the text; in fact, more than one-fifth of the whole contents is made up of such material, including epistles and confessions of all kinds. Facing death at the stake or in rotten dungeons, the faith of these true Christian disciples never failed and became a great testimony and challenge."

The Small Chronicle covers the period from 1665 until far into the nineteenth century. It was written by Johannes Waldner (1749-1824) the bishop of the group from 1794 until his death while living in Russia. For about 130 years during the decline of the group there was no continuation of the first chronicle. Waldner wrote a sequel to the Great Chronicle between 1793 and 1802. He abridged the earlier history of the group, then carried the story forward through the migrations from Transylvania (Hungary) to their settlement in Russia including his own eye-witness accounts of these events. His work has been termed "a real masterwork of historiography, a pragmatic account of great unity and dynamic" (Friedmann, Hutterite Studies: 152). Zieglschmid (1947) completed the story from 1802 to 1947. Extracts from the chronicles and shorter works of significance have been published in modern times from newly discovered sources. The Hutterite practice of writing their own "Epistles" or passionate testimonials to each other, often in times of imprisonment and distress, has remained obscure to many students of their history.

Among the most considered statements of faith are: Peter Rideman's *Rechenschaft unserer Religion* . . . (1565) translated into English by Kathleen E. Hasenberg and published in London in 1950; Peter Walpot, "True Surrender and Community of Goods, from the Great Article Book by Peter Walpot, 1577," translated by Kathleen Hasenberg (Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England, 1957); together with the hymns of the group published as *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, Pa. 1914). The doctrinal statements, sermons, hymns, epistles, and tracts were useful as primary source materials for the study of their values. Also valuable to our analysis were their *Ordnungen* (rules) with respect to economic life, trades, craftsmanship, social organization, discipline, marriage practices, and education.

These ingroup materials have received a great deal of attention by historians of the Anabaptist groups including: Joseph von Beck (1815-87), jurist and research scholar; Johann Loserth (1846-1936), Professor of Modern European History; Rudolf Wolkan (1860-1927), Professor of German Literature; and Robert Friedmann, formerly of the University of Vienna, and Professor Emeritus of History and Philosophy at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan. All of these scholars were at one time associated with universities or institutions in Austria. The works of still others in recent times in addition to Friedmann, who has worked on both continents, is reflected in the bibliographical works of A. J. F. Zieglschmid, Harold Bender, Franklin Littell, John Horsch, and George Williams.

Extensive bibliographies have been published in Zieglschmid (1947: 687-706), in Hillerbrand (1962: 11-15), and another by Marvin Riley (1965) is in process. The collecting and publication of Hutterite source materials is reflected in several series of monographs and journals. The *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* is a book series of Anabaptist archival sources, published by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte at Heidelberg, containing a number of volumes which deal with primary source materials. More are in process. The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen, Indiana) has published numerous source materials of the Hutterites. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, Germany) and to a greater extent the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, Pa., 1955-59) encompass an enormous amount of historical material arranged in encyclopedic order. The collected essays of Robert Friedmann on the early period of the group were published in a volume, Hutterite Studies (Goshen, Indiana, 1961). A full bibliography of this author is contained in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (1961, 242-247). The standard work on the Hutterites in the English language has been John Horsch's *The Hutterian Brethren 1528-1931: A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty* (Goshen, Indiana, 1931).

A biography of Jakob Hutter (in German), by Hans Georg Fischer, appeared as late as 1956. Still further historical treatments are to be found in the theses of Harder (1930), Knoll (1963), Pitt (1949), and Peters (1958 and 1965). Conkin's (1964) history is the most readable synthesis of all. The following have been issued by the Hutterites in the English language: Peter Hofer, The Hutterian Brethren and Their Beliefs (1955); several publications by Paul S. Gross; also a pamphlet entitled The Hutterian Brethren of Montana (1962), and The Hutterian Brethren of America (Wilson Siding Colony, Lethbridge, Alberta, 1965). Several publications by Eberhard Arnold (1883-1935), founder of the Society of Brothers which was modeled after the Hutterite group, have appeared in both German and English.

Modern studies pertaining to Hutterite institutions and personality

The first systematic, large scale study of Hutterites was a study of their mental health. A sociologist, Joseph Eaton, and his staff of social scientists set out to relate the incidence of mental disorder to cultural and social environment, and to learn, if possible, what factors promoted or inhibited mental disorders. The bulk of this research appeared in a publication by Eaton and Weil (Culture and Mental Disorders, 1955) and in journal publications by Eaton. Bert Kaplan and Thomas F. A. Plaut issued a volume, Personality in a Communal Society (1956). It was found that the group cared for their mental patients at home, that members were by no means free from psychiatric disturbances, and that manic-depressive types were more frequent than the schizophrenic varieties of mental illness. The demographic analysis of the Hutterite group by Eaton and Mayer (Man's Capacity to Reproduce, 1954) as a corollary to the mental health study was one of the most useful phases of this large scale study.

Earlier studies in America of the sociological character of the Hutterite groups had been completed by Zimmer (1912), Clark (1924), and Deets (1931-1939). Deets, who lived among the groups for extended periods while a professor at the University of South Dakota, observed the strength of their core values in organizing the whole society. Other works have emerged from interest in Hutterite economics and cooperative farming practices: Hinds (1908), Katz (1943), Infield (1947), and Riley (1956, 1959). The early period of the economic practices of the Hutterites is provided by Klassen (1964). The works of Vernon Serl for the Saskatchewan government's Committee on Minority Relations (1958), his doctoral dissertation in anthropology (1964), and John W. Bennett's (1965) as yet unpublished study of the ecology and economics of Saskatchewan colonies are of more than passing interest to the serious student. Sommer (1943) has written on early Hutterite medical knowledge, and the revived interest in seventeenth century Hutterite ceramics is represented in the writings of Friedmann (1927, 1958), Krisztinkovich (1962, 1963) and Landsfeld (1964). A study of their hymnology (Duerksen 1956) and of their dialect (Holtzman 1960) have also appeared in recent years. A study of their musicology by Helen Martens (Columbia University) is in process.

The legal history of the group is discussed by Simmons (1960) and by Sanders (1964). Other phases reported have been a study of attitudes toward Hutterites (Priestly 1959), and Canadian Hutterites and civil liberties (Griffin 1947), their public relations problems (Hostetler 1961) and a study of inter-group relations of Hutterites with their Saskatchewan nieghbors by the Canadian Mental Health Association (1954).

Genetic studies conducted by Harvard University and Western Reserve University are still in process. Several empirical reports include: Tietze (1957), Mange (1963), Sheps (1965), and Howells (1965).

Research related to Hutterite education

Although the "strength" of the Hutterite educational institution has been acknowledged in the literature, no intensive study has been done. The ethnographic or ingroup sources on educational goals and practices exist in Hutterite writings and in their ongoing social systems. A masters thesis by Knill (1958) is the only attempt at a comparative study of Hutterite with non-Hutterite pupils. Knill was a teacher in a Hutterite colony in Southern Alberta. He found that on the California Achievement Tests Battery, fourth grade Hutterite pupils slightly exceeded the national norms but that grades five and six fell considerably below the national norms. Score comparisons with pupils in centralized schools of the same area showed similar results.

The educational goals of the Hutterite as well as the Amish and Old Colony Mennonite groups are discussed in Hostetler and Redekop (1962). The Report of the Hutterite Investigation Committee (Edmonton, Alberta, 1959) incorporates observations made by school inspectors in a limited survey.

Child rearing in collective societies and in cross cultural perspective have appeared in recent books and journals. They include the writings of Melford Spiro (1958), Mead and Wolfenstein (1955), Bonfenbrenner (1961, 1962), and Whiting (1963), and others.

CHAPTER 3. PROCEDURE

Administration

The project was directed by the writer with the aid of an advisory panel of consultants representing the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and sociology. (For a list of the project staff see Appendix G).

The panel met initially for planning phases on June 13-15, 1962, at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, which was followed by a visit to a Hutterite community. It met in Philadelphia, Pa., on April 6, 1963, to review the first phase of the investigation and to plan additional field work, and again on December 14, 1964, to review the findings and to advise on the final phases of the investigation. Several of the field staff met with the panel of consultants during the last two of the above planning conferences. The principal consultants to the project were Bert Kaplan (psychology) who had done extensive field work as a member of the mental health study of the Hutterites, Laura Thompson (anthropology) who had been coordinator of the Indian Personality and Administration Research under the auspices of the United States Office of Indian Affairs and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, Joseph H. Britton (human development) of the Child Development and Family Relations Department of Pennsylvania State University, and Calvin Redekop (sociology of religion) of the School of Religion at Earlham College.

Field contacts were administered on three levels: (1) interviews by a German-speaking interviewer who lived for one month in each of the sample colonies, (2) observations in residence by trained staff members in the sample colonies ranging from three to eight months, and (3) several visits by the project director to the sample colonies.

The writer's initial contact with the Hutterites was in 1948 with the Tschetter Colony in South Dakota. It was in 1959 when he accepted a position on the faculty of the University of Alberta in the capitol city of Edmonton, Alberta, that he began systematic studies of Hutterite society. Five Hutterite elders came to visit the writer at a time when they were called before the legislature of the Province of Alberta for a hearing. A law restricting them from expanding their land holdings, known as the Communal Property Act, was being amended. They had come to seek technical advice in editorial and related matters. This initial introduction led to a bond which has long since been strengthened by personal and family visits, identification in speaking, working, singing, and in ultimate concerns. A total of 28 of the 59 colonies in Alberta had been visited by the writer prior to undertaking the present investigation.

The placement of the field staff in the colonies was arranged by the project director with the colonies. Hutterite confidences are often difficult to establish and maintain. Once they were convinced of the purpose of the research project and the integrity of the staff they cooperated fully.

The population and the sample

The entire population of the Hutterites in North America was about 15,249 on January 1, 1965 (Table 1). Of the 170 colonies, 120 were in Canada and 50 in the United States. In the United States, South Dakota had 26 colonies, Montana 21, and one colony each was located in North Dakota, Minnesota, and Washington. Alberta had 63 colonies, Manitoba 42, and Saskatchewan 15.

All colonies belong to one of three Leut (people), Schmiedeleut, Dariusleut, and Lehrerleut. Biologically the three Leut are clans and kinship groups, but administratively they are separate church conferences. Each Leut has its own Vorsteher (moderator), each is endogenous with respect to marriage patterns, and each can be distinguished by its own culture traits and rules of order. A knowledge of their origin and migration to the Dakota territory illustrates these points.

About 800 Hutterites came to the United States from 1874-79. About half of the immigrants settled on family farms by taking advantage of the Homestead Act. These families who settled on individual farms were known as "Prairieleut" and continued to use the German language but did not carry on their complete communal organization. They have sometimes been called "Hutterite Mennonites" and all their congregations have affiliated with Mennonite conferences. The other half, or about 400 Hutterites, established three colonies in what is now South Dakota. The first Bruderhof to come, in 1874, were the Schmiedeleut, so named because its founder, Michael Waldner was a Schmied (blacksmith) in Russia. They settled in Bon Homme colony near Yankton which became the "mother" of all Schmiedeleut colonies, a total of 70 in 1965 (Fig. 4). Waldner was the first to reestablish communal living in Russia in 1859 after it had been abandoned for several decades.

The second Bruderhof formed in America was the Dariusleut, named after Darius Walter, who founded a group in 1860 in Hutterdorf. They arrived in South Dakota in 1874, and founded the Wolf Creek colony, about 40 miles north of Bon Homme, the following year. The Wolf Creek conony was the "mother" Bruderhof of all Dariusleut colonies numbering 57 colonies in 1965 (Fig. 5).

The third kinship group, the Lehrerleut, so-called because their leader-preacher was a Lehrer (teacher) in the Ukraine and in South Dakota, left Johannisruh in 1877 and established the Old Elmspring Bruderhof near Parkston, South Dakota. All thirteen families of this group had not lived in a communal life in Russia but did so when they settled here. The Lehrerleut are the smallest of the three kinship groups, numbering 43 colonies in 1965 (fig. 6).

All Schmiedeleut colonies, and only this Leut, are located in Manitoba and the Dakotas (Fig. 2). The Dariusleut have 40 colonies in Alberta, nine in Saskatchewan, seven in Montana, and one in Washington. The Lehrerleut have 23 colonies in Alberta, 14 in Montana, and six in Saskatchewan. The differences between these groups in Hutterite terms are "not great since we all have the same principle of community." The leaders of the three groups confer with each other in times of crisis and on legal questions. All have a common language, tradition, and all maintain kindergartens and in-colony schools. In the selection of the sample colonies all three Leut were taken into consideration.

In selecting the sample from the approximately 150 colonies in 1962 (when the project began) we wanted a representative Bruderhof. We also wanted to discover variations that were important in the learning process within the social system. We knew from extended visits to many colonies that no colony is like any other colony. Variations between colonies are not only recognized by the Hutterites themselves, but these variations are observable by a trained investigator. They include preferred isolation patterns, population size and growth, economic well-being, variations in the quality of the school, and in rules which govern social contacts with outsiders. In observing socialization patterns we felt that it was as important to assess the variations as it was to discover the uniformities.

Three Bruderhofs were selected for intensive study, but many others were visited. The criteria for the selection of the colonies were: (1) one Bruderhof from each of the three Leut groups, (2) willingness of the colonies to cooperate by allowing residence of the staff on the colony and repeated visits and interviews without major restrictions, (3) a physical location that was distant from other colonies in the sample, and (4) their representativeness of the whole as affirmed in consultation with Hutterite elders. An effort was made to avoid the atypical colony where chronic problems of desertion or disorganization are manifest but to include a small colony as well as a large one (See Table 2 for populations).

To preserve their anonymity, fictitious names have been assigned to the three colonies we selected:

1. Schmiedehof, belongs to the Schmiedeleut and is located in Manitoba.
2. Dariushof, belongs to the Dariusleut and is located in Alberta.
3. Lehrerhof, belongs to the Lehrerleut and is located in Montana.

Procedure for formulating the charter

By "charter" is meant what Malinowski (1944, 48) calls "the recognized purpose of the group" or "the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize" (Ibid. 52). The relationship of the charter to the theoretical framework of the investigation (and as used by Malinowski) appears in Figure 8. A people's view of reality, of nature, of man, and of the social order determines what they will teach their offspring. In every culture there are socially preferred ways of generalizing about the environment and about the nature of existence. The fundamental values, variously designated by social scientists as "existential postulates," or "core culture," or "world view," or "configurations," are the reference points that color a people's view of reality. In formulating the charter of the Hutterite group we wanted to discover the absolute tenents which motivate the socialization processes.

A bibliography of sixteenth century writings was examined for the purpose of selecting basic documents from which it would be possible to formulate the traditional Hutterite charter. Evaluation and selection of sources was made with the aid of historians and linguists in this field. The method of formulating the charter consisted of describing categories of reality as viewed by the Hutterites along with appropriate translations from Medieval German into the English language. Robert Friedmann, the recognized historian of the group, gave valuable suggestions and on request wrote a project document "The Basic Charter of the Hutterites" from the viewpoint of theology and history. For lack of space it could not be incorporated in this report but along with other project documents is listed in the Appendix (A, 6).

Procedure for investigating the community and socialization

To describe the methods of transmitting the charter or moral teachings of the society, it was necessary to sketch the community in anthropological perspective with its supporting social institutions. From a project document entitled "Field Guide Designed to Investigage the Changing Culture of the Community" (Appendix A, 6) a comprehensive outline was produced and used for the anthropological description of the sample colonies (Appendix A, 1). Socialization was observed in the context of community with respect to authority patterns, spatial patterns, temporal patterns, and family patterns. Several psychological tests were used in the hope that they would yield results which could be compared to other populations and communal groups, but no claims can be made as to their usefulness or their applicability to other populations. Tests which in the American society yield reliable data on social behavior produced results which had no reliability and frequently no meaning in the Hutterite groups. The tests used are explained in the Appendix (A, 3). Our problem was, how can the investigator observe the socialization process in operation and describe and analyze it objectively? One of the greatest barriers to the understanding of Hutterite mentality and culture is the inability of the field worker to transcend the usual "scientific" assumptions and biases, be he graduate student or scientist. Through repeated experiences we concluded that not only do psychological tests not yield comparable data, but that there is no common ground between the reality of the world in Hutterite terms and the mind of the investigator. Nevertheless, several short projective tests were developed and successfully administered to adolescents after prolonged contact with the culture. They were designed to discover factors of direct interest to socialization on such subjects as attitude toward superiors, punitive figures, fears and wishes expressed, and dimentions of the self-concept. The results are discussed in the chapter 9 "Aspects of Adolescent Personality."

Fundamental to the investigation was what might be termed the "natural history stage" of inquiry (Northrop, 35). We attempted to observe and describe the goals and methods of indoctrination from infancy to adulthood, and the effect of such training on the personality development. Particular attention was given to content and learning which is not specifically stated in the charter. The methods employed were the classical ones used for this type of field work, semi-structured interviewing and observation. The first level of contact was a month's visit to each of the three sample colonies by a German-speaking interviewer who relayed to the rest of the project staff reports of semi-formal interviews on goals (Appendix A, 2), methods, formalized aspects of communal institutions with key-positioned persons in the community, and demographic data. These reports were used as a basis for the orientation of the anthropologist, psychologist, and the sociologist who visited the sample colonies at later stages for more detailed observations. A female anthropologist with her three small children lived in one of the sample colonies for the period of a summer. The husband was able to join for a shorter period. Living on the colony grounds in the teacherage permitted the family to participate in all phases of the communal patterns, and in this manner it was possible to observe and document all phases of interpersonal relations in a single colony. The same anthropologist also spent time in the other sample colonies. Return visits to the sample colonies were extremely valuable.

Procedure for investigating the problem of deviancy and defection

The Field Guide (Appendix A, 1) was designed to elicit observations on deviancy patterns within the community. To obtain the information we wanted on defection it was necessary to interview persons who had deserted the colonies. It was believed that at least 40 such persons could be found. A schedule was developed to interview as many of these defectors as could be found (Appendix A, 5). We postulated that there were factors of attraction to the outside world and factors of repulsion to colony life. Our purpose was to discover these "push" and "pull" factors and the manner in which they are associated with the life experience of individuals. We wanted to know what "weaknesses" there were in what appeared to be a very effective system of indoctrination for communal life.

Information was sought on the following variables:

Life in the colony before leaving: For factors of attraction to the outside world information was sought on: (1) the ex-Hutterite person's image of the outside world prior to leaving the colony and his knowledge of the outside world, (2) the nature of contact with persons he knew outside the colony, and (3) the attractiveness of the outside world, or persons or objects to the deviating person. For factors which repelled the individual from life in the colony, information was sought from the interviewed on such points as: (1) ideological conflict with Hutterite doctrine, (2) inter-personal frictions, and (3) personal frustrations and need fulfillment.

The act of leaving the colony: An account of the events in the transition from colony life to the outside world was sought. Whether this was of a crisis nature was of interest to the project. This included premeditation, means of travel, resources and skills, reference groups giving assistance, and measures taken by the colony to obtain the return of the defector. The frequency with which persons leave the colony and return voluntarily was also of interest to the project.

The adjustment to life outside the colony: Hutterite persons are prepared for adult life in a highly integrated religious communal society. To what extent do persons who desert the system evidence the Hutterite morality system? In what ways are the values still reflected in the experience of the individual? Here we sought information on substitute means of carrying out the early teaching on morality. To what extent does a deserter still use his native language, relate to community-oriented attitudes, family practices and patterns, attitudes toward property, and religious beliefs and practices? In observing what kind of a father a former Hutterite makes we wanted to discover the father-son and father-daughter relationship pattern and attitudes regarding the father role. Information was sought on attitudes toward the colony, whether hostile or relaxed, whether the individual has achieved a sense of belonging to the world outside the colony in the sense that he feels it worthwhile and the extent that he feels that he is accepted in it. We sought information on the persistency of patterning, on the relationships preference, and social attractions associated with the process of culture change.

PART I. THE ANALYSIS OF THE CHARTER

CHAPTER 4. THE TRADITIONAL CHARTER

This section is a report of the findings with reference to the belief system of the Hutterites as contained in the original sources. This is what in sociology would be termed the "ideal" culture or normative beliefs in contrast to "real"culture or the normative practices.

In every culture there are socially preferred ways of generalizing about the environment and about the nature of existence. Such basic moral postulates become the reference points that color a people's view of reality, giving them an orientation toward the world around them and toward each other. Socialization and child-rearing patterns can be understood only in the context of such basic postulates or points of charter. The charter formulated here is not intended to be inclusive of each individual in the community at every moment in time. No individual encompasses in his experience the entire content of his culture. Even in the homogenous Hutterite culture there are individual differences in viewpoint. Moreover there are changes in beliefs and practices in the course of time, and temporary adjustments are made in response to the problem of living. Although such complex and changing factors are recognized here, they can be understood only after the world view of the group has been described.

Malinowski defined an institution as "an organized system of purposeful activities" (Malinowski 1960: 52). He defined the charter of an institution as "the recognized purpose of the group" (Ibid. 48) or "the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organization already existing" (Ibid. 52). Malinowski designated an institution with its charter, norms, personnel, material apparatus, activities and function in the society as the major "concrete isolate of organized behavior" (Ibid. 52). (For the relationship of these concepts see Figure 8) The usefulness of this paradigm lies in its provision of a theoretical niche for all the basic facts relevant to the problem of culture change in a local community. These include the human organisms involved ("personnel"), their technology and production using aspects of the natural environment ("material apparatus"), the recognized purpose of the group ("charter"), and the rules whereby the personnel attempt to implement the charter ("norms"). Slots are provided in Malinowski's model for all factors relevant not only to a detailed general description of an institution but also for a dynamic understanding of an institution in process of change in its community setting. (Figure 8).

The "system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize" (Ibid. 52), as Ethel Albert (1956: 223) has pointed out, comprises whatever conceptions of "the nature of reality" (metaphysics) are found. In Hutterite terms this takes in not only "what there is" (ontology), and "how things came to be as they are" (cosmology), but also aspects of technology, theology, magic, and notions of space and time, causal principles, and ethnoscience. Rules of reasoning and "ways of knowing" (epistemology) such as intuition, inspiration, vision, revelation, authority, sensory experience, and what is believed about "the nature of human nature" (ethnopsychology), tend to form a pattern of consistency in the charter.

The major sources for the following analysis of the Hutterite charter is Peter Rideman (or Riedemann), *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehr und Glaubens* written in medieval German in 1540-41 and first printed in 1565 (Heimann: 1952). High German and English translations of this work are available (Rideman 1950, 1962). The Rideman text is recognized by contemporary Hutterites as their official confession of faith and is cited in their legal "Constitution" (Fletcher 1950). Other important sources used in the preparation of the charter, as supplementary to the Rideman document were the following: (1) *The Great Article Book* in its original edition called *Ein Schön Lustig Büchlein Etliche Hauptartikeln Unseres Christlichen Glaubens* . . . dating from 1577 and drawn up allegedly by Peter Walpot (1519-78) (See Friedmann M. Q. R. 31: 22); (2) An anonymous tract entitled *Handbuchlein wider den Prozess* . . . of about 1557 answering the accusations of Lutheran theologians. These three documents are among the most foundational sources of Hutterite doctrine and support the views of the early Hutterite writers. An analysis of the Rideman text reveals 2,950 citations of Scripture of which 2,048 were from the New Testament, 833 from the Old Testament, and 69 from the Apocrypha (See Table 3). A rather remarkable chart illustrating Anabaptist doctrine and its conceptual components was made by Leonard Schiemer in 1527 while in prison in Rattenburg on the Inn river in Tyrol. It is reproduced here for the additional insight it gives into the consistency of Hutterite doctrine (Fig. 9).

In analyzing the traditional charter of the Hutterian Brethren, an attempt has been made especially to identify relationship patterns and other concepts expressed repeatedly in the sixteenth century source documents. Such relationship patterns, usually manifest in verb forms of sentences in the original German texts, are assumed to give idiosyncratic meaning to the nouns associated with them. We hope to discover to what extent the charter lays down the basic assumptions and preferred relationship patterns underlying not only the ideological principles of the institution's personnel but also their social structure, economic organization, and intimate daily behavior.

In pursuing this aspect of the analysis, the following questions have been found fruitful:

A. How many categories of behavior of person, subgroup or group are included under the provisions of the charter?

B. What institutions, if any, are placed in secondary relationship to the institution whose charter is under scrutiny?

C. To what extent is the daily life of the personnel prescribed by the charter? Deeds? Words? Thoughts? Feelings?

D. Which personal relations are involved?

Relationship patterns and concepts identified by the analysis of the texts of the appropriate sources have been classified according to the following five categories:

1. Conception of the nature (and supernature) of the universe and its power dynamics.

2. Conception of the nature of man, the relation of man to the universe and its power sources, the relation of the sexes to each other and to the power sources, and the conception of the ego and its extensions beyond death and before birth.

3. Conception of the nature of animals, plants, and other living and non-living units recognized by the charter as part of the universe, and the interrelationships between power sources, men, animals, plants, and the world of nature (and supernature).

4. Conception of the nature of the community and its preferred social relationship patterns, basic institutions, and habitual ways of thinking about social class and status.

5. Conception of space and time.

These categories were first developed in 1942-47, for purposes of core value system analysis and classification in describing the cultures of American Indian communities investigated by the staff of the Indian Education, Personality and Administration Research Project (Thompson 1945, 1948). They are based on an early paper by Lawrence K. Frank (1943), one of the Indian project's consultants. They will be recognized as somewhat similar to those developed later by Florence Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn 1950, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961, 10-20). However, a key implicit aspect of organized group behavior, namely the concept of space (Silverman 1960), is omitted from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's formal scheme. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 10, note 16) mention the importance of the space problem but state that they were unable to include it because of insufficient evidence. Also note that the method of analysis of the value systems we have employed is based on planned investigation and comparison of both the traditional historical sources and field findings from contemporary communities in order to reveal changes in value orientations through time. The Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck scheme is based mainly on field findings.

The rationale behind this approach is that every human local community is faced with the need to resolve a limited number of practical problems. These problems are inherent in the actual situation of the group and in the nature of human nature. If these problems are not resolved in a relatively satisfactory manner the group's present existence will come to an end. The community will either disperse, perish as a group, or move to another habitat and attempt to resettle and reorganize there. Members of a community organize themselves in certain describable ways into institutions whose purpose is to meet and resolve these crucial problems. Each group has its own distinctive way of thinking and feeling about each one of them. These distinctive ways of feeling and thinking about these universal problems are incorporated into the charters of the institution which the group members or institution's personnel organize to resolve them.

The five categories listed above represent an attempt to develop a scheme for classifying all the known ways of thinking and feeling about these basic universal problems of local group living. For purposes of charter analysis, these categories are not weighted. No one category is treated as more important than any other. The assumption is that, viewed as a whole, the five categories afford a framework whereby beliefs may be recorded systematically and compared to one another.

In applying this method to the traditional Hutterite charter, the texts of the appropriate documents have been scanned for relevant information regarding each of the five categories. An attempt has been made to fill each slot impartially.

Analysis of the texts

1. Conception of the nature (and supernature) of the universe and its power dynamics.

The whole universe, including all its parts, is conceived as originally created by a deity or Creator (Schöpfer) who is conceived as eternal and unchanging truth (die ewige und unveränderliche Wahrheit ist) (15, 16).* There is a single source of all power (alle Gewalt) in the universe and this power source is deified and called God (Gott) (15). A gift from this power source by God to man is called "grace" (Gnaden) (17, 18).

All that is of the deity is considered to be spiritual, unchanging and eternal (22), while all that is classed as material or "created things" is considered to be transitory, changing and "temporal" (geschwigen Werk) (59). This postulated opposition between spiritual (geistlichen) and material (zeitlichen) (88) is characteristic of the universe and underlies a fundamental dualism in Hutterian thinking (see Friedmann ms, 1962).

The Creator, by the act of creation, established a single law or "divine order" in the universe wherein he put each part or unit into its "right" place (49, 52). The divine order, sometimes called God's law (Gottes Gesätz) (65) or God's order (Gottes Ordnung) (88), with each part in its place as prescribed by God, is conceived as right (recht) and good (wohl) (82). Any disgression from, or transgression of, the divine order is conceived to be evil (ungehorsem) and is called sin (Sünde) (17). Good is believed to come only from God (36). Evil, on the other hand, is the term used to designate any breach in the divine order or transgression of God's law.

The divine order is believed to have been established through God's will (Gottes Willen). It is being fulfilled, according to the word (Wort) (22) or covenant (Bund) (16, 41, 63, 67, 165) of its master, God. It is only partially and incompletely understood by man, but its rules are being revealed gradually to him by God in his covenant or testimony. God's law is interpreted by individuals called prophets, believed to be especially imbued by the deity with grace. God is thought to speak to man through the prophets (48).

The divine order is conceived as expressing a fixed relationship between the deity on one hand and material or transitory things on the other. It regulates natural, as well as social, relationships. It encompasses relations between natural phenomena and the deity, and between natural phenomena and man, and it includes social relations between man and the deity, between men, and between the sexes.

According to this order, God is lord and master (Herr und Meister) of all creation, which is subject to God's will and command (Gottes Willen und Geboten). A hierarchy has been established among "created things" whereby man, as the property (Eigentum) of God (18, 91), is directly responsible to God as his servant and must "suffer the will of God" (26), whereas "earth and all that adorneth it," including earth's creatures, have been given by God to man and men have been made "lords of the same" (19). Man has been made lord of earth so that through earth and its creatures he may be led to God (19).

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* The numbers hereafter in the charter analysis refer to pages in the English 1950 edition of the Rideman text except where otherwise indicated.

Since God, the master, controls all power or grace, and man, the servant, is completely helpless without grace, man must humble and abase himself (60) before God "with bent knees" (mit gebognen Knieen) (79) and supplicate, honor, and try to "please" him (135) so that God will not withhold his gift of grace but will give it to man. On the other hand, if man does not please God and submit to his will and his divine order, he will be overcome by his "carnal," "earthly" nature (die Weltlichkeit), transgress the law of God, and suffer God's wrath (Zorn) (60) and "eternal destruction and death" (59).

To be pleasing to God and to acquire grace thereby, man must follow the prescribed order with obedience (Gehorsam) and accept God's divine rule with both heart and mind; he must await the word of the master to fulfill the same (52); listen to God's messages (47); and allow God's will to work in him and to express itself through his deeds, words, thoughts, and feelings. Thus man may acquire faith, a gift from God to those who seek, grasp for, and fear him (46). Faith represents the real divine power which renews man and makes him god-like in nature (47) that he may rise to eternal life (45).

The special place and role ascribed to man in the hierarchy of the divine order is dependent to some extent, but not entirely, on man's character and will. However, since only man can disobey God's commandments, the entire responsibility for evil in the world rests with man. As stated by Rideman (19), " . . . as soon as man became perverse and turned away from God, the creation, too, became perverse for him, so that what had formerly served for his profit, good and well-being, now on the contrary serveth for his injury." (Aber so bald sich der Mensch verkehret und von Gott abgewendet hat, ist ihm auch die Kreatur verkehret worden, dass wie sie ihm vorhin zu Nutz, zum Guten und Heil gedienet . . .).

Of disobedience sin (Sünde) is born (56), and this is personified in the concept of the devil (Teufel), also called the enemy (Feund) and satan (Satan) (77). The devil lays snares (Schmachen und Stricken) (54) for man.

In this universe Christ (Christus), the son of God, functions as an intermediary between God and man, in the role of man's advocate and redeemer (32). Christ has overcome the devil, "and removed the snare, that is sin" (25). Thus Christ has delivered man from death (Tod), evil, sin, and the devil, set him free, and reconciled him with God (25, 34, 57). Christ's role as man's advocate is better understood when one considers that God can withhold or give power according to his will. God is jealous of his prerogatives and his honor (Ehre) (15, 16, 19, 20).

2. Conception of the nature of man: the relation of man to the universe and its power sources, the relation of the sexes to each other and to the power sources, the conception of the ego and its extensions beyond death, and before birth.

God created man "of earth" as part of the "whole of creation," but God "breathed upon man and he received a living soul" (53). Thus God gave man the "likeness of his glory to rule over the earthly body, and to prove and show forth his nature through it, and in so doing glorify the Creator" (53). God "created man solely for his honor" (51).

Hence man is by nature different from all other creatures of creation in that he is both earthly flesh and blood and heavenly "spirit" or "soul" which is "divine" and "in the likeness of God" (53). Thus man is endowed with a dual nature, both "carnal" and "spiritual."

According to the divine order, however, only man's "spiritual" nature is good and pleasing to God. All that pertains to his "carnal" nature is displeasing and evil. Therefore, to please God, so that he may acquire from him the gifts of grace and faith, man "should not be carnally minded but spiritually minded" (53).

Since the first man Adam sinned, urged on by Eve who was "deceived and beguiled by the counsel of the serpent" (54-55), all men have inherited sin and an "inclination to sin" (57), and they have also inherited death (57). "Original sin (Erbsünden)," according to Rideman (57), " . . . is firstly the cause of physical death for men, for originally they were created and placed in life, so that there was naught corrupt in them." But sin "planted the devil's likeness in men and clove forever to them" (55). Since sex is sinful, all men are conceived and born in sin and have "by nature a tendency toward evil and to have pleasure in sin" (57). Indeed, "the imagination and desire of man's heart is evil from his youth" (57).

But God has given men, above all creatures, "reason, understanding and sense" (51) and "likeness to his glory to rule over the earthly body, and to prove and show forth his nature through it, and in so doing glorify the Creator" (53). But man's sinfulness dishonors the Creator and makes him angry (55). God gave man a conscience by which he might recognize sin and thereby feel guilt (Schuld) (60). Guilt over sin may be assuaged only by true abasement, self-surrender (Gelassenheit) (91), and repentance for transgressions before God (61).

Sin leads to destruction and death. The only way to overcome death is through Christ (57) for in him God took on human nature that death might thereby be overwhelmed (23). "He is the Savior who hath robbed death of its power, torn its bond and snare asunder and set us, his people, free" (23).

Although children are born in sin and with a tendency to sin, this condition may be mitigated if they are brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord" (130). The Hutterites say, "It is our endeavor to bring up the children in divine discipline, and to plant in their hearts the right morals and commandments of God" (Anonymous 1557: 221). The Hutterian conception of the child is explicitly developed by Rideman, Walpot, and Ehrenpreis (See Documents on Child Rearing and Socialization, Appendix D).

Relation of the sexes to each other and to the power source

The position of the sexes in the social and spiritual hierarchy of the Hutterian Brethren is very important in the charter. It is believed that God has set each sex in its right place in the divine order in relation to the other. Man, as contrasted to woman, is made in the image of God and "reflects some of God's glory" (99). He has been put in a superordinate place in the divine order in relation to woman who was taken from man and put in a subordinate place in relation to him.

The prescribed relation between the sexes and assumption of male dominance is embodied in the institution of marriage, which, according to Hutterian belief, mirrors the divine order. Through marriage man is ordained by God to be "lord" and "head of the woman" as the spirit is head of the body and God is head of the spirit (98). He, "as the one in whom something of God's glory is seen, should have compassion on the woman as the weaker instrument, and in love and kindness go before her and care for her, not only in temporal but also and still more in spiritual things; and faithfully share with her all that he hath been given by God" (99). Woman who has "weakness, humility, and submission" should be "under the yoke of man and obedient to him" according to God's commandment (99). Man should go before woman "in honesty, courage and all the Christian virtues that in him she may have a mirror of righteousness, an instigation to blessedness and a leader to God" (99).

Marital relations are permitted only in view of the procreation of children and should be without lust. Stadler (Friedmann ms., 16) explains, "if man had remained pure and good as he was created by God, then also insemination (Besamung) would have functioned without lust and evil urges. But now it is no longer this way. God, however, winks at our marital work (Gott sieht durch die Finger in ehelichen Werk) for the sake of our children, and he does not incriminate against those who act in fear and discipline."

Conception of the ego and its extensions

The ego is believed to be completely without power or grace unless it is given these "gifts" (88) by God. Indeed, it is not only powerless in the sense of not controlling any real power but it is sinful (35) and debased. By true humility and repentance for sin the ego may, if God so wills, be given the gift of grace and thereby extended beyond death into "eternal life." Only unconditional obedience (Nachfolge) and self-renunciation (Gelassenheit) may permit the "gifts" of God to take effect in man.

The meaning of eternal life has not been "properly and fully" revealed to man, but it is believed that at the day of "last judgment" God will appear to man "face to face" and man shall "know God, who is eternal and who maketh man eternal and to live eternally." Then those who know him "shall rejoice with Him with eternal joy" (45).

3. Conception of the nature of animals, plants and other living and non-living units recognized as part of the universe, and the interrelationship between power sources, man, animals, plants, and the world of nature.

All "created things" . . ."the sun with the whole course of the heavens, day, air and such like . . . are made common to man" (89). Man has been ordained by the divine order to rule over them as God rules man.

The created order including property, however, may not become an extension of man's ego. According to Walpot (1947, 42), "Owning and ownership is against the nature and character of God's creation . . . no man should take to himself what is God's, anymore than he can divide the air, rain, snow, or water, also the sun, moon, and the elements. Even so temporal goods . . . may not be made one's own . . . the desire and love of money is neither natural nor necessary . . . it is an acquired evil, coming from the counsel of the serpent and of the devil."

Thus "created things" are not to be held privately, as property or an extension of one's ego, but all things are to be held in common. " . . . God from the beginning ordained naught private for man, but all things to be common" (88). If, however, man raises up and honors "created things" as though they were God, he steps out of God's order and forsakes it (88).

4. Conception of the nature of community and its preferred social relationship patterns, basic institutions, and habitual ways of thinking about social class and status.

Community (Gemeinschaft) implies a group of members ("personnel" in Malinowski's terminology) of the church who are united in fellowship of the Holy Spirit under the leadership of the "spirit of Christ" (105). This is called "the community of the Church of Christ" (92), the "communion of saints" (88), or "the children of God" (92). The community is conceived as a foretaste or lobby (Vorhof) to life after death.

In this community of the Church there shall be equality in temporal things and all goods shall be held in common. As Rideman (43) states: "Community . . . is naught else than that those who have fellowship have all things in common together, none having aught for himself, but each having all things with the others, even as the Father hath nothing for Himself, but all that He hath with the Son, and again, the Son hath nothing for Himself, but all that He hath, He hath with the Father and all who have fellowship. Thus all those who have fellowship with Him likewise have nothing for themselves, but have all things with their Master and with all those who have fellowship with them, that they might be one in the Son as the Son is in the Father. It is called the community of saints because they have fellowship in holy things; yea, in those things whereby they are sanctified, that is in the Father and the Son, who Himself sanctifieth them with all that He hath given them. Thus everything serveth to the betterment and building up of one's neighbor and to the praise and glory of God the Father" (43).

The leadership of this community is the Holy Spirit. ". . . There is no Church of Christ seve that which the Holy Spirit gathereth, ruleth, teacheth, and directeth" (91-92). Its membership is composed of those who yield themselves to the rule of the Holy Spirit. "Now those who surrender themselves to the Spirit that the same might rule over them, yield themselves to the Church of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit worketh" (2). Conversely, those who yield themselves to sin, separate themselves from the Church and if they actually leave the community, they go still more deeply into destruction (92). Hence all those who defect are considered to be moving toward destruction.

In the community of the Church where all are childlike and equal under the leadership of the Holy Spirit within God's law, other official leadership roles, such as judge (114), magistrate, policeman and priest (95-96) are unnecessary and condemned. Instead, each member is expected to watch over his fellows and admonish anyone who commits a fault under threat of being brought before the Church and, if he does not repent, under penalty of being banned from the Church (132). Those who have committed a deadly sin, such as fornication, covetousness, idolatry, drunkenness, or robbery are excluded from the church-community and from its common meals. In such cases, however, a distinction is made between willful sinning, and sinning in haste through "weakness of the flesh." The former is judged more severely than the latter (132).

In all these cases, the Church, rather than any one individual, has been given power, by divine law, "to exclude and to accept," as well as to forgive members. "Therefore, whatsoever she excludeth is excluded, but whatsoever she forgiveth is forgiven here and in eternity, and apart from her there is no forgiveness, no goodness, no healing and salvation, no true comfort or hope. For within her and not without her is and dwelleth the Father, Son and Holy Ghost who maketh all things good, and justifieth" (44). Hence, according to the Hutterian charter, power may be delegated by God to Christ, and by Christ to the Church, but never from the Church to any one individual.

The community of the Church of Christ has been sought out, selected, and accepted by God through Christ to be "a people for himself" (38), holy and without blemish, and it has been separated from all nations so that it might serve God "with one mind and heart" (93). Its law is the law of God and "all temporal things are foreign" to it (112-113). Therefore members of the community of the Church should not go to civil law or accept appointment as a judge or government official (105, 112-114). Government is a sign of man's departure from God (104).

Furthermore, members of the Church should not practice vengeance or make or bear arms (111), but they should willingly pay taxes which are not to be used for purposes of war (109). Christians may make and use what is made for the benefit and daily use of man, such as bread, knives, axes, hoes, and the like, "as well as plain clothes to meet their needs" (112, 134). Whatever "serveth but pride, magnificence and vanity" they do not make that they may keep the "conscience unspotted before God" (112).

The members of the community come together for thanksgiving and prayer and for the Lord's Supper (130). When they come together they give thanks, pray to keep faithful and devout, and proclaim the Lord's word faithfully (129). They do not make or bow down to graven images, nor do they meet in temples of stone or wood, since temples "originated through the instigation of devils" and "are hated of God" (93).

The community of love [the Hutterian Brethren Church] is primary and central in the universe and the reason for creation, in that man might honor God (151). Only those who "cleave to God and seek, love and honor him alone," who forsake everything for Christ, including property, are acceptable to God. Only the true Church of Christ [Hutterian] has done so (108). God desires to be honored only in his Church [Hutterian] and by none other (93). The "created things" of the universe were given to man to lead the creation to God and only the true Christians [Hutterians] are using "created things" to lead men to God in such a "narrow path." (Tschetter, Sermon: 3).

Thus the community of Christ is ordained by God, maintained by the Holy Spirit, and separated from the carnal world by the will of God (154). The many community regulations (Gemeindeordnungen) spelling out in detail the relationship of the members with non-members and of contacts with "the world" are essentially "norms" rather than a charter.

5. Conception of space and time.

According to the original Hutterian charter, the universe is conceived spatially as composed of two parts. An upper part, called heaven (Himmel), is sometimes described as consisting of many subdivisions. The uppermost is called the Throne of God (19, 33), while the lower heavens are known as the abodes of the angels who occasionally serve as messengers of the deity to earth. The lower part of the universe is composed of two subdivisions:

earth (*Erde*) and hell (30), the place of captivity (*Ort des Gefängniss*), or the abyss (*Abgrund*) (15, 25). Unclean spirits are associated with the abyss (25).

Time is regarded as an endless unchanging duration called eternity (*Ewigkeit*) (45, 135). Within the timeless duration, that which is temporal and changing becomes manifest briefly in material form in fulfillment of the divine order of the universe (83).

Since the created order of space, including the objects in it, was made by God, man may not possess such objects as his own, as noted above (Walpot 42).

Summary and conclusions

Explicitly and in detail the charter lays down absolute tenets underlying the natural and social order; its one primary institution, the Hutterian Church; and its secondary institutions including marriage and the family, the local community, and the communal economy. It defines the accepted relationship pattern between primary and secondary institutions in the Hutterian community and the place and role of every member of the community as well as all organic and material objects recognized as important to the Hutterian life way. The approved status system is spelled out, including leadership roles which are permitted and those which are not. The charter also posits a sacred code of law and the penalties for its transgression. The code includes what *is* allowed as well as what is *not* allowed and also the punishments and rewards attached to conformity and nonconformity. And finally, the charter translates the prescribed order and code into the patterns of behavior, thought, speech, and feeling which are appropriate and those that are inappropriate at every recognized social level to the utmost detail of daily life. The breadth, comprehensiveness, unity, and consistency of the Hutterian traditional charter is impressive.

The concept of the two kingdoms, good as opposed to evil, is basic to the Hutterite world view. The divine order is right and good while any transgression of it is considered to be evil and generative of sin and death. The conception of an ordered universe embodying hierarchal relationships is prominent. The divine order is believed to be only partially understood by man although its rules are being revealed gradually by God who gave man reason, sense, and conscience by which he might recognize evil and feel guilt. Thus man is thought to have been created different from all other creatures in that he is by nature both earthly or carnal and heavenly or spiritual. Man, but not woman, is made in the image of God. Man's carnal nature is believed to be evil whereas his spiritual nature is good, and man's masculine role is of central importance in the universe.

According to the charter there is a double edge to God's judgment in that man, if God so wills, shall be rewarded for right feelings, thought, and behavior, but he shall also be severely punished for wrong ones. At the same time, man may follow all the prescribed rules of behavior, thought, and feeling and still not find favor with God and win grace, without which man is believed to be powerless. Ultimately God gives or withholds the gift of grace to man according to God's will. Thus there is an element of uncertainty in the traditional Hutterian view of the world and no Hutterite is completely certain of his salvation, just as he is never free from his carnal nature, until the Day of Judgment.

PART II. THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIALIZATION

CHAPTER 5. AUTHORITY PATTERNS

In this, Part II of the report, the community is discussed in the context of socialization. By socialization is meant the processes by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them able members of their society (Brim 1964: 1). In the Hutterite setting community is inseparable from socialization. By community is meant a homogeneous population carrying on a purposeful, shared way of life, exhibiting extensive interdependence, and located in a limited geographic area. Although the field data contains information on many phases of community (See Appendix A, 1, Outline of Field Guide for Investigating the Community) the analysis in this report is focused on three aspects of the community: authority patterns, spatial patterns, and temporal patterns. The findings on the family and on adolescent personality are also presented in Part II.

Authority as an absolute is prominent in the charter. Supernatural authority also forms the basis of the norms. Supernatural authority is transposed into the social structure of the Bruderhof to a remarkable degree. Anabaptist groups, with the exception of the Hutterites, experienced a great deal of fragmentation by the repeated attempts of individuals to claim charismatic authority. Of all Christian communal attempts only the Hutterites have succeeded in placing authority so fully into the group context and keeping the "prophet" personality and the ego from dominating the leadership. Divine authority is incarnated into the group of members who act through having received the Holy Spirit. The gifts which are given to obedient and submissive men help make possible a supernaturally sanctioned leadership in the colony.

Two socially sanctioned power groups have authority over the adult individual in the colony, (1) the Extended Council or baptized male members, and (2) Die Zeugbrüder or Executive Council (Fig.13). The latter constitutes the preacher and a group of elected persons who carry major leadership responsibilities moderated by the top position of preacher. The major decisions are made by the Extended Council. While the preacher is responsible for interpreting the meaning of the charter and is charged with the highest leadership position, he is subject to review by the Executive Council. The actions of the councils are not performed in the name of God or for God, but with the help of God. Although a preacher may exercise the authority vested in him, he does so only as a member of the council. ("Council" unspecified hereafter refers to the Executive). Authority is thus a group characteristic, arrived at through unity and continuous informal relationship of the elected council members. The individual has learned to be submissive, for he knows that human weakness may overtake him. He does not express absolute certainty about his salvation. The individual never reaches a state of perfection but the group does. Council actions, performed with the help of the Holy Spirit, are ideally free from partiality. These decisions are based on a higher source of truth than could ever be attained by the individual.

The founding period of the Hutterites was a charismatic one in the sense that the movement was voluntary. Characteristic was also the sense of personal "calling" (Peter, Karl 1965). The submission of the individual will to the group and the acknowledgment of the gift of the Holy Spirit was pervasive in the founding period. How have the Hutterites been able to perpetuate the charisma of the founding period and to recreate a climate of voluntary commitment to the group? Attempts to explain it have been made by outsiders but rarely has it been understood. The factors are complex, and an effective socialization process is only part of the picture.

Rigidity rather than personal charisma appear to be most characteristic of today's colonies. There have been periods of decline and revival throughout Hutterite history, (See Fig. 12) but the manner in which the two have played a part in the perpetuation of the society is perhaps one of the most remarkable features. The system is characterized today by insularity and institutionalization. Admission to the group is by memorization of the prescribed questions and answers, by learning the visual and oral symbol systems, and by submitting to the authority patterns. The charisma itself appears to have been institutionalized. The sermons are a prime example. The sermons derive from the Ehrenpreis era (Fig. 12). They are written in gothic script and recopied from one generation to the next. The words for "Scriptures" and "Sermons" are interchangeable. The sermons are equated with Scripture and in questions of interpretation have the greater authority. They contain many direct quotations from the Biblical writings (Froschaur and other Medieval editions. See Mennonite Encyclopedia 2: 415), but most important is that the sermons interpret the meaning of the quotations. They are expository. The interpretations of the sermon writers are equated with the Apostles of Christ and have no less profundity. No individual and no preacher today may interpret the Scripture. It would be presumptuous and unsafe. The preachers in the sample colonies observed affirmed that even if illustrations from contemporary life were added to the sermons, "they would lead us away from the higher truth." "No one is spiritual enough today to preach without the written sermons," they say. Finally authority for the meaning of any Biblical passage in case of any contradiction or disagreement is taken from the sermons. This dedication to the older sermons and the inability of new or outside influences to penetrate this area of authority constitutes a significant preference pattern in maintaining an unchanged and unchallenged source of authority.

Aside from the sermon content itself, one of the most effective techniques employed is control of the language pattern. The language of the sermons and the gothic handwritten pattern are uniquely different from the contemporary Austro-Bavarian dialect used (Figure 7, and Obernberger 1964) and from the English language which Hutterites also speak. Language provides supporting orientation to a consistent world view (Lee 1959) and the memory pattern in a specific language persists with the individual. The stereotypes created by a dominant language tend to outlive those of other languages. Perhaps more clearly than in many societies, it can be observed that language is supportative of the Hutterite culture. Hutterites are convinced that a change in language would mean a change of religion, which supports the scientific theory that with a change in language the ways of a folk will change with it. Hutterite concepts and viewpoints are invariably bound up with the

German language and inseparable from the sermons and sacred writings. While a modern English Bible might be used in discussions with outsiders, it would be regarded as far inferior to an old German Bible.

Inter-colony authority

The colonies in North America are organized into three Leut (people) or conferences. Each has its own formal organization, rules, and each is endogenous. Each is headed by a senior elder (Vorsteher), assisted by others next in age, at the preachers' conferences. The Leut conferences are attended by preachers from the colonies within the Leut. The deliberations of the preachers' conferences have great effect on the local colony on such matters as education, migration, relation to government, and the enforcement of regulations. Each Leut issues its decisions in writing in Gemeindeordnungen. Leut conferences also mediate disputes between different colonies or investigate complaints of colony members against their leaders.

An analysis of the contents of the Gemeindeordnungen of one Leut reveals a broad scope of power: There are decisions concerning sending and opening letters, cakes at weddings, eating snacks in the apartment, the distribution of yard goods, paint for apartments, hair and clothing styles, concerts and school programs, concerning intermarriage, selling goods for individual profit, individual allowances, concerning mattresses, money or clothing accepted from an outsider, the punishment of offenders, loaning and borrowing colony funds, concerning travel to town, to weddings, and to funerals. Such strictures exert a great deal of power over the individual as enforced by the colony. The decisions arrived at by the preachers' conferences are rules that must be enforced by the colony preacher, but differentials of enforcement do exist.

Each Leut subscribes to the core doctrine of the community of goods as expressed in Rideman. But each differs slightly in its needs and problem-solving pattern. The distances between colonies is undoubtedly related to the degree of control within each Leut. The Schmiedeleut are scattered in Manitoba and South Dakota. Although they meet regularly in conferences, each has also a separate smaller preachers' convention in Manitoba and in South Dakota. Regional problems related to land purchases augment these differences. The Schmiedeleut conference exercises control over new land purchases in that all colonies must give consent before any single colony may purchase land for branching. The Dariusleut, who are more scattered and living in Montana, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, have no such rule but each colony may buy land without consent of other colonies. The Lehrerleut incorporate a greater scope of controls within the Gemeindeordnung than any of the conferences. Closer controls over colony schools, baptism, ordinations, and economic policies governing branching are reflected in their preference pattern.

Seldom do the three Leut preachers deliberate with each other except that at least two delegates from each meet annually to comply with the legal requirements of a religious corporation (See Fletcher, Constitution, 1951). Marriages seldom cross Leut groups, though this occurred early in their settlement in the United States when the group was small. Variations of culture patterns were found among Leut as well as within Leut. Hutterites themselves recognize traditional-progressive differences between the three Leut, though there is almost never any uniformity of agreement among informants. It would appear that in order of traditional to progressive they rank themselves in this order: Lehrerleut, Dariusleut, and Schmiedeleut. The differences are not clear-cut and on some variables there appear to be inconsistencies. The Dariusleut men, for example, wear hooks-and-eyes instead of buttons on their Sunday dress, but this trait does not appear to be symbolic for traditional dress styles as a whole. Teaching skills are believed to be more adequately developed among the Lehrerleut in that the founder of this group was a reputed Lehrer or teacher. Other differences are apparent: in the diet for new mothers, clothing styles, colony school practices (the Schulela only among the Lehrerleut), time for branching out, and colony size preferences. The Lehrerleut was the last to re-establish communal living (achieved when they settled in the United States) and also appears to be most ardent in its teaching and most ethnocentric in its relation to outsiders.

Colony authority

The members of the colony are socialized to live in a power-relationship that is difficult to comprehend in our Anglo-American patterns of thought and language. The system as a whole has theocratic, democratic, patriarchal, and managerial elements. The manner in which they are fused into an effective governing system has had the advantage of trial-and-error over the centuries. Status differences by age and sex, illustrated by the seating places at the table and at church services, carry with them precise duties and privileges learned by the individual and his peer-group. The socialization patterns prepare colony members for easy movement from one to another of these statuses within the respective hierarchy. The individual is not only at all times governed by his primary relationships but by the delegated authority system, a rational system to which he must submit his will and behavior.

The preacher is acknowledged in the Hutterite charter to hold pre-eminent authority over all others in the colony. While his duties are first of all spiritual and religious, his influence also counts in all other areas. He, together with the rest of the council, is responsible for determining and directing policies that are consistent with the charter. However, he is not required to refer all matters to the council and only the most weighty decisions are taken to the colony as a whole for a vote. His religious duties include conducting church services, funerals, marriages, and baptism. He is entrusted with the souls of his flock. He hears personal problems, voluntary confession, and administers punishment for their sins. His fundamental duty is to interpret the present in terms of the past. He is to oversee the life-long indoctrination of his people and is overseer of the spiritual goals of the colony. He has a direct interest in seeing that the German school is functioning well and properly, but his relation to the teacher and the school is informal. He has the responsibility for smoothing over difficulties which arise between members since, given the physical proximity of the people, even a minor quarrel could explode into ruinous dissension.

Part of his religious role is scholarly. He recopies in old German handwriting as many sermons as he can or asks relatives to assist him. He keeps a record of family trees, which reflects both Hutterite concern for their history and genealogy. Travel records are kept of the members when they leave the colony for visits and the purposes of their trips. In addition to his religious role, the preacher is intimately concerned with the economic well being of the colony. He keeps an eye on the activities of the Householder to insure that the colony is run efficiently enough to provide for the people's needs and for future expansion.

The preacher is both guardian of traditions and values and also the spokesman for the colony in its "foreign affairs." He must remain ever vigilant against the Weltgeist, the spirit of the world.

Socialization and selection of the preacher

The preacher-to-be should have demonstrated loyalty to Hutterite teachings. This often means ability to be conservative in religious values but progressive in work and economic affairs. He should ideally have lived a dedicated life. Such small matters as good handwriting are involved since in his scholarly role he is responsible for transcribing the sermons. He should be capable of learning to wisely exert authority over the people, even though it is assumed that he is carrying out their collective will as well as God's will. He must have tact and some skill in inter-personal relations if he is to smooth ruffled feathers and keep the people living together amicably. Only through possession of such qualities can he maintain the system, introducing only those unavoidable changes and making decisions consistent with the doctrine, die Glauben. The preacher's role encompasses a total as well as a specific religious responsibility. The preacher must also have some facility for business. He represents the colony in its ever increasing network of relationships with the outside world. He must know how to deal with outsiders for the colony's benefit.

The method of selecting a preacher varies slightly with Leut, but in all it consists of two stages. The first is Stimmen or Erwahlen (election) and the second Einsetzen (ordination). Among the Dariusleut the Elder appoints a group of senior preachers (all are invited, but the distance is too great for all to accept) to visit those colonies where an ordination is needed. They often "tour" several colonies for this purpose, just as is done in the case of "trouble shooting." The council of the colony nominates individuals from the local colony. The names of nominees are put on the blackboard. The visiting preachers may propose other names from the colony (but this almost never happens), and they then vote for any two of the names on the board. [illegible] Preachers and colony voting members then vote for a single person. Names that do not receive five votes or more are then eliminated, and the remaining candidates are put to the drawing of the lot. Blank slips of paper are then put in a hat, together with one containing the word "preacher." Each nominee takes a paper in the order of his age. They open them simultaneously. The one who has the paper with the word "preacher" is automatically elected. He is elected for a probationary period of unspecified time and usually acts as assistant preacher for several years before he is fully ordained. After the ordination he is permitted to baptize, marry, and serve communion. (See Appendix D. 17, for ordination vow).

There are several factors that mitigate against the training of the population as a whole for leadership roles. First there is a quasi-hereditary situation which allows possible candidates to receive differential socialization from an early age. Frequently the candidate has already served in the role of assistant preacher. Typically, the incumbent will have served six or more years as an apprentice. The system, then, turns out a man who is capable of functioning adequately upon being elected to the position of preacher. The assistant preacher is frequently ordained (Eingesetzt) when the colony branches.

The council

The council (and the Extended Council) and their working apparatus may be observed in the labor organization of the colony. (See Fig. 13) The Extended Council consists of all baptized male members and is called together by the preacher. Most policies and routine decisions are made by the smaller council. The members by tradition consist of the preacher, assistant preacher, householder, field boss, and two other elected persons. The school teacher may be one of these persons and usually an aged person is voted into the council. A new colony frequently combines the office of preacher and householder until it has had opportunity to assess its capabilities and grow in population. But a preacher may not hold the position of householder indefinitely, and the preachers conferences occasionally issue orders for a colony to hold an election.

Members of the council sit in ordered places in the religious services (Fig. 10), and in the colony work program they are responsible to one of the departmental work bosses. The professional work group is made up of the various departmental positions. Leadership and initiative is exercised on this level in an informal manner. Only baptized and married persons (with rare exceptions) are assigned to head up departmental positions.

The responsibility for the work organization belongs to the council, but more specifically to work departments headed by individual managers or so-called "bosses." The preacher uses his influence in setting the moral tone, but the responsibility for the labor is directly that of the field boss. The field boss is a sort of personnel director of the laboring group. The preacher, householder, and field boss usually meet informally every morning to decide on a course of action for the day.

More than any other activity work occupies the time of every adult. Participation in work is the major means of satisfaction. Work dominates and regulates the daily routine. Good performance of [illegible] person who does not perform his job well feels the censure of his superiors as well as his peers. Work constitutes the dominant value and makes the actions of individuals predictable. Tasks which are considered unpleasant are shared on a rotational basis, and with seeding and harvest time the more routine positions such as preacher, teacher, pigman, chickenman join the larger field crew. During the more relaxed winter months young men are assigned to "bosses" as apprentices in specialized jobs. Departmental bosses are responsible for making their departments "pay off," and if improvement in breeding livestock or in building barns is wanted, the initiative must come from them. They must acquire the know-how of mechanized feeding, disease prevention, coyote poisoning, and seed storage (etc.) without any allowance for buying books or magazines or without going to trade schools.

The labor organization of the women (Fig. 14) is left to the women, except that the chief position, headcook, is appointed by the council. The headcook is the authority figure in the female work force. In most colonies there is a head gardener (a woman) and in all a Schneiderin (tailoress), who is overseer of the purchasing and distribution of yardgoods. The two main rotational jobs among the women are the cooks and the kitchen workers, who help to process food for the colony and for the market.

Age and sex power patterns

The basic and permanent social unit is the colony. The colony conceivably could function without the superstructure of the preachers conference as indeed it has during periods of external interference in history. Within the colony, power and individual access to power privileges are categorically based on sex and age and on ceremonial status (baptism and marriage).

Sex division of authority is pervasive from birth to death. Only males can aspire to the privilege of voting in colony decisions. The subordinate position of the female is written into the charter, as Christ is head of the church so is man head of the woman. Hutterite women are believed to have different (inferior) intellects by creation and therefore to receive consideration and protection by the husbands. Unofficially women are given the role of guardians of the sexual mores, and their conservative informal influence is recognized in the colony. Within the male status hierarchy older men have more prestige and greater authority than younger men; married men have higher status than unmarried men, and baptized men more than unbaptized men. Seating patterns at church (Fig. 10) and in the dining room (Fig. 16) show explicit age and authority patterns. Among the women, older, married, and baptized women are superordinate to their younger or unmarried or unbaptized counterparts. Children of both sexes are graded according to age: as infants under three, as kindergarten children from three to six, and as school children from the beginning of German school until age fifteen. After age fifteen they are assigned more responsible roles in the community and begin to be regarded as adults.

The patriarchal extended family

The locale of family power is in the extended patriarchal family rather than in the nuclear family. Marriages are formed by patri-local rule. The husband remains in his colony while the wife is a newcomer. With his brothers, he remains as part of the ongoing occupational hierarchy having the strength of continuous associations and knowledge of colony affairs. His parents often live on the same colony. The bedrooms may be located in such a way that father and son have to use the same living parlor. The wife is cut off from her long-time primary associations and has to establish herself in the new environment of her husband's relatives and in a new occupational pattern. She is placed in a subordinate position to that of her husband's mother. She is subordinate in the female work pattern. The difficulties of establishing herself in the colony are recognized by the colony as a whole so that she is permitted to return annually to her colony of origin for an extended visit.

In her attempt to orient herself to the new environment, the wife can only partially count on the support of her husband. He is forced by his male peer-group members to enforce his male authority at home and keep his wife in the proper place. This authority position is a stress factor in the development of affectional ties between husband and wife. In the colony as a functioning organism both are oriented more toward their respective occupational groups than toward each other, and the wife by her position has greater conflicts and problems in this regard than does her husband. In situations where the husband is caught between his wife and that of his male associations, he will defer to the latter. Otherwise he would lose status in the power structure of the colony.

The role of the wife then has greater potentiality for emotional problems and conflicts. Her only alternative is submission: to her husband and to the colony. She must live in the shadow of her husband whose authority is backed by the colony. She must be submissive to the colony officials who have authority over her as a member of the female group. A husband who is given a position of power, such as a position on the colony council, cannot treat his wife as an equal. He must show impartiality and is thus forced to treat his wife like any other woman in the colony. The householder, for example, in his official capacity as manager, is forced to treat his wife only as a member of the female group. This tendency toward treating all women with equality was manifest symbolically in former times when a husband simply called his wife "eheliche Schwester" (marital sister). (Friedmann, Hutterite Studies: 123).

The power patterns have their source in the charter in that women are seen as weaker by creation. Women therefore have an inferior niche in the power structure. The young husband who is overly affectionate toward his wife or who is more considerate of the wishes of his wife than of his occupational group is derogatorily called a "Weiber's Mann" (woman's man). In the same way a badly operated colony is sometimes labeled a "Weiber-regiment" (woman's operation). One preacher said with great seriousness "Our colony troubles would be very little if it were not for the women."

Unless both the husband and the wife understand the obligations demanded of their respective peer-associations, there can be serious misunderstandings. The husband is placed in an ambiguous position between his wife and the authority structure of the colony. This position often prevents him from intervening in affairs which concern his family. Wives must be socialized to understand and accept a subordinate position. Much quarrelling and conflict would otherwise result. If a husband follows the suggestions of his wife he may destroy his role and status position and his future place in the colony leadership.

"Women power" or even "girl power" (if there are many unmarried girls in the colony) is greatest when colony issues come into focus. Women as a group are relatively free to intervene when colony decisions affect them or their families. They may never defend their position on the basis of being an individual but must appeal to the welfare of the group. Such patterns of behavior can be observed with respect to the socialization of children. Hutterite youngsters who are punished by the school teacher (always a male) seek and receive comfort from their mothers. When hurt physically, the children seek comfort from the father (the protector from the world and the environment). While the father tends to uphold the rules of the patriarchal system due to his own involvement in the structure, his wife may be more lenient in her attitude and more critical of the punishment. A father would not complain against the decision of the colony. The same power pattern applies in the distribution of goods. Wives feel less restrained in making complaints, while husbands will try to avoid any confrontation with the power structure. A husband would rather suffer unjustly than complain openly. A wife has nothing to lose by complaining, but she may be frustrated because her husband will not give her the support she wants. Women as a group support each other, and even a dominant one will receive the support of the weaker ones and vice versa.

Loyalities of the men are somewhat divided between their peer group (the colony), their family of orientation, and their family of procreation. The women are primarily oriented to their family of procreation and therefore are harder for the colony to manage and integrate--especially when coupled with some antagonism toward the men. Less identification with the colony is indicated by the fact that our field staff never heard the boys complain about the hard work even when they were haying until ten o'clock at night, but the women complained openly when they had too much colony work in one day.

Power struggles eventually develop into contests between extended families. If a husband has the support of his brothers in a colony, then there is the development of a significant segment of leadership, especially if these brothers have important colony positions. In a highly integrated colony, these polarized groups (usually two) are peacefully channeled into colony branching. However in less well managed or disorganized colonies, the factions which generate between extended families can develop into a serious breakdown. Thus along with an increase in colony population the need for branching becomes urgent as the issues between extended families become more intense.

CHAPTER 6. SPATIAL PATTERNS

The most important social unit in Hutterite society is the Bruderhof (colony). The colony incorporates everything that is necessary for the life of the individual. Whether the colony is located in Slovakia, Russia, or Saskatchewan is of secondary importance. Indeed the ability of the colony to thrive in Moravia, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, the Ukraine (See Map, Figure 1), and now in the United States and Canada (Figure 2), under a variety of unfriendly governments, differing languages, and economic resources is a remarkable record of overcoming geographic limitations. Today in Canada, as throughout their history, some colonies are building up frontier lands of marginal quality and bringing virgin land under the plow.

For its members each Hutterite colony is the center of the universe. When the children drew pictures of their colony, it was not as seen from the road, but as seen from within. (This parochialism is only one step removed from ours, when we present our elementary school children with maps of the world in which the western hemisphere is always in the center.) The Hutterites compare the colony to the ark of Noah. The people whom God selected to be in the ark were those who were worshipping him correctly just as the Hutterites today are the only people who properly honor him. The ark was surrounded by a sin-filled world as is the colony. Finally, only those in the ark were saved from drowning as only those in the colony will be saved for eternal life.

Throughout the 437 years of their history, the Hutterites have encountered a series of hostile neighbors, have suffered from natural disasters and problems of adjusting to new environments. But upon a world that is acknowledged as arbitrary by man's standards, the Hutterites have imposed order. For the Hutterites, religion has indeed brought order out of chaos. The order they imposed is detailed, and now that it has become institutionalized, the order appears overly rigid.

Hutterite colonies vary in size with the type of farming carried on and the availability of land. They usually have about four thousand acres in colonies in the United States. The average holdings of 33 colonies in Alberta in 1959 was 7,200 acres. The colonies are usually at some distance from large towns. Ideally a colony is located near enough to another colony so that they can easily exchange work and services, but not so near that the young people can walk between colonies. In Alberta there are restrictive laws that prevent the purchase of new land without prior approval by the government. In other areas there have been attempts to pass such laws, or there is a "gentlemen's agreement" that colonies will not buy land near existing colonies.

Use of space

The colony buildings are usually built about a quarter of a mile from the government road and somewhat near the center of the land. Although there is no uniform Hutterite style of architecture, there is a characteristic colony layout. (See Figure 11.) The center of the colony is the church-kitchen-dining room-bakehouse-washhouse complex. This is surrounded by living houses with their associated sheds and the kindergarten. Then come the food storage and preparation buildings such as cooler, smoke house, butchering shed, bee house. At one side of the colony and usually oriented toward the road, rather than toward the colony, is the state school. On the far side of the school and preferably in a somewhat isolated position is the teacherage. Beyond the central buildings are the barns of animals that need frequent care, beyond these are the vegetable gardens, the crop lands, and the pasture lands with the range animals and their sheds. Of course the basic physical layout of a colony is affected somewhat by the characteristics of the land. However, the Hutterites go to considerable expense to modify the topography in order to enable them to locate the colony buildings in the desired part of the property and in the required spatial relation to one another. This means that hills may be leveled, sloughs filled in, and existing buildings moved.

In most colonies the center of community life is a large building called the kitchen. This building is either in the center of the living house area or forms one end of a court-like area that unifies the living houses. The kitchen complex always includes the kitchen proper, the bake house, the dining rooms for the adults and the children; usually it includes the wash house and sometimes the church room and German school. Church may be held in the adults' dining room. If the kitchen building is too small, church is held in the school. Although it is common for church to be held in the school house, this is considered a temporary measure even though in fact it is a frequent and long-time arrangement.

The colony buildings are built squared with the compass. The long houses run north and south. This is considered much better than east and west because the different apartments are more similar than if one family had an apartment with primarily a northern exposure and another with a southern. It is considered better to build the houses spatially oriented due east and due west rather than at an angle to the compass. As one man said, "You don't walk crooked to the earth, you walk straight; that is how our buildings should be, straight with the compass and not askew." The other buildings are lined up with the long houses so that usually most of the buildings are parallel or at right angles to one another. (See Figure 3.) Where roads do not run directly north-south and east-west the Hutterite buildings are clearly oriented spatially to God's ordered universe and not to the state or worldly roads. The general spatial relationship and orientation of the buildings in each colony is similar to that in each other colony since each is considered to be related in the same way to the universe; and thus all the colonies are related to one another.

Use of color

Before discussing the individual buildings in the colony, the use of color in the colony complex as a whole should be mentioned. Often the color of a building reflects the use of the building or the attitude of the colonists toward the building. For example, in one colony the kitchen, the living houses, and the kindergarten were all painted white with blue trim. The small buildings near the living houses were painted the same way when they were primarily for colony use. Thus the bee house and shoe shop were painted white with blue. No shoes and almost no honey was sold. The goose houses were also painted white and blue because except for the few weeks during which they were used for goslings the houses were used by individual families--usually by the little girls for a play house. The out houses were painted similarly. In contrast those buildings that were primarily used for economic activity were painted bright red. These included the blacksmith shop, the pump house, the root cellar and various barns. A conspicuous exception was the public school house which was stucco instead of wood, was painted yellow, and oriented to face the state road rather than the colony. Although physically within the colony, the members had emotionally placed it outside.

The kitchen complex

The central building in the colony is the kitchen. It includes a large room in which the meals and snacks for all the colony are prepared. Here the women cook over efficient restaurant-type stoves that usually burn gas. In stationary tubs with built-in heating units they cook soup, can, and make French fried potatoes. They wash dishes around large stainless steel sinks. The dishes are often stored in a pantry leading to the dining room in which they are used. Often the vegetable preparation takes place in a room adjoining the kitchen. This room may also be used for canning food and sometimes for washing clothes. Here is found the mechanical potato peeler (the women merely remove the eyes), the French fried potato cutter, the mechanical chicken plucker, and sometimes the noodle making machine. However, this prized, home-made machine is more often found in the dining room or bakery where it stands looking like a piece of nice furniture and where its finish will not be spoiled by the steam of washing, butchering fowl, and canning. Directly off the kitchen, perhaps through a small pantry, is the adult dining room. Off the adults' dining room or directly off the kitchen or cooking room is the children's dining room. In these rooms three meals a day are eaten by all colony members over five years of age. The children sit on the backless benches at the long tables in order of their age. The boys sit on one side of the room, the girls on the other. Each child has an assigned place that is not changed until a younger child joins the group or an older child graduates to the adult dining room. If a child is absent his place remains empty. If there is a visitor he is placed at the table according to his age.

In the adult dining room the women sit in the same way at the women's tables, strictly by age (Figure 16). The men sit by age except for the four or five places where they are seated by rank. The two ministers are not present. They always eat together in the home of the first minister. Therefore, the highest ranking man present in the dining room is the householder of the colony. He sits at one end of the men's table and offers the prayer before and after the meal. Next in rank and place is the field boss and then the men on the council in order of their age or the length of time they have been on the council, whichever ranking is used within that particular colony. Thus the members of the council sit at the table for meals in the same order as they sit on the council bench at church. All other men in the colony sit by age from the oldest down to the youngest (Figure 16). Usually the youngest girl in the adult dining room serves the men. The symbolism of the bread and of its being cut and served by the oldest man emphasizes the ritual aspect of the community meal. In the ritual of colony life every person has his hierarchically assigned place and all are literally fed by "the old father" (Alt-Vetter), just as the colony is spiritually nourished by the Heavenly Father.

The oldest men and women if they are somewhat feeble eat separately at a table of their own where they are not hurried. If they are ill, their food is taken to them in their apartments. In some colonies the cooks eat after the meal and are waited on by the kindergarten mothers who are not teaching that day; otherwise the cooks eat at their assigned places. Immediately after the meal the tables and benches are washed, the dining room swept, and the clean cups and saucers put back on the tables.

In those colonies where there is a separate room for church services, the room is in the kitchen building. The church room is generally located at one end of the building and is used for German school and Sunday school, as well as for church services. This room is always severely plain, clean, and shining. The floor is usually varnished wood as are the benches and the table behind which the ministers sit. The walls and usually the ceiling are enameled in high gloss white. At the front of the room on a bench facing the congregation sit the members of the council in order of their rank. Facing the minister the women sit on the right with the youngest girls sitting in the front, the oldest women at the back. Each person has his assigned place according to his date of birth. Age is the only criteria for one's place and it is not affected by one's marital status or whether the individual has been baptized. The men sit in the same order, from the youngest boy to the oldest man, excluding only the two ministers and the men who sit on the council bench (Figure 10). When church is over the men walk out first, in order of age from the oldest to the youngest, followed by the women from the oldest to the youngest and finally the two ministers followed by the council members who also leave in order of rank.

The bake house is almost invariably part of the kitchen. In this room are the ovens for baking bread, buns, pies, cakes, and cookies. In here is also the dough mixer for the bread and a chute from the upstairs through which the flour falls so the women will not have to carry it. There are tables on which to mix the flour and on which the bread can be set to rise. Here, too, all the baking pans are stored. The job of baking rotates, with one woman in charge of the baking for a week at a time. In most colonies she has a woman to help her as it takes two people to lift the wet bread dough into the mixer.

Often the wash house is part of the kitchen building, although the first kitchen a colony builds when it is getting started is rather small and this kitchen building is intended to function as a wash house when a new, better kitchen building can be built after the colony pays off some of its debts. The wash house includes washing machines for clothing. These machines are sometimes family-type washing machines; sometimes they are hospital type. Every colony has at least two washing machines, one for dark clothes and one for light clothes. Some colonies have as many as four machines. All the colonies I visited also have an extractor to remove excess water from the clothes and many of the colonies have electric dryers. Most laundries have stainless steel sinks in which to rinse the clothes. These are essential if the washing machines are not automatic for the clothes are only washed, not rinsed, in the hospital-type machines. Also in the wash house is found the bathtub or showers for the colony. Everyone bathes on Saturday afternoon or evening, except where this overcrowds the washing facilities, then the school girls have to bathe on Friday. Anyone may bathe whenever he or she can find time, but everyone must bathe on Saturday in preparation for Sunday.

Most of the newer kitchen buildings have coolers with walk-in freezers as part of the kitchen building and storage for canned goods in the cellar. Here are kept the home canned produce, smoked meat, and sometimes the family allotment of fruit.

Near the kitchen building but farther out are found other small buildings associated with food preparation and storage. There is always at least one storage shed, usually another cooler, always a smoke house, and usually a building for butchering and soap making. There is also a root cellar where onions, carrots, potatoes, and sometimes family fruit are stored. The colony buys extra fruit, some of which is used in the dining room, and the rest is divided among the families for their own consumption. Thus throughout the winter each family has its own supply of oranges and apples that the individual members can eat when they wish. These are usually stored in the kitchen or root cellar where they will keep better than in the houses.

The kitchen is central to the colony. The all important bell is on or near the kitchen. In this building the whole colony may assemble for worship; the colony assembles by age groups to eat; the children may assemble for German school and Sunday school; the women may assemble to work; the women of each family come to wash their clothes; and the individuals line up to bathe. For all the colony it is a place to worship, to eat, to hold shivarees. For the women it is also a work center and place of talk and opinion making. (The home of the first minister, the field boss, or the blacksmith shop is more likely to be the place where the men gather to discuss and plan.) Although in practice a single kitchen building rarely encompasses all these activities, at some stage in the growth of the colony or in the ideal for the colony all these activities do take place within the kitchen. When a Hutterite says of another colony "You should see their kitchen," he is not thinking of the cook stove but of the whole kitchen complex.

Living houses and associated buildings

In most Hutterite colonies the majority of the members live in long houses. These are typically one-story houses with four entrances. Flanking each entrance room are two bedrooms; above the finished rooms is a large unpartitioned attic that is used by all the families for storage and sometimes for sleeping extra children. The basic floor plan dates from the sixteenth century and it has been modified little. The houses are from 90 to 100 feet long and 30 to 36 feet wide. They run north and south. (See Figure 18.) Formerly they were built of stone; now they are usually wood, although sometimes they are of stucco or of composition shingle. The pitch of the roof is not uniform from one colony to the next, nor are the details of construction or decoration, and so there is no distinctive Hutterite architecture although there is a distinctive floor plan and layout. Formerly long houses were sometimes two stories high with an attic above the second story. In the past they sometimes had six entrances instead of four, but the middle apartments were considered less desirable and so in the interest of fairness and uniformity six-family houses are no longer built.

The Hutterites make use of existing family style houses on the property. These are modified to fit the Hutterite village plan. Thus the doors are changed so that the houses are oriented toward the center of the village, rather than the road. Usually there is only one outside door, if only one family occupies the house, two if it has been modified as a two-family house.

Generally families of men with the high prestige positions are housed closest to the center of the colony. However, nearness to the man's job is sometimes taken into account and nearness to a parent or sibling is of most importance. The first minister usually has an apartment near the entrance road for he is the one who receives most of the visitors. However, his apartment is always close enough to the center of the colony so that he can keep an eye on all the activity. The second minister is in a different long house or part of the colony, although still in a central position. There is an effort to let sisters live close together, preferably in the same house, and to let sons live as near their parents as possible. If the wife remains in the same colony when she is married, she may be given an apartment close to her mother, or the son may be given preference and the couple may live nearer his mother. (Dariusleut usually place sons near their parents. Lehrerleut usually let the girl live near her parents or her sister.) There is no overall rule about this as it is relatively uncommon for a girl to remain in her own colony after marriage. The apartments in the colony that are furthest out from the center are given to younger sons and to sons whose wives have no close relatives within the colony. If the colony has more room than is needed the apartments furthest from the center and oriented toward the outside of the colony tend to be left vacant. (Fig. 17, Residence Pattern by Sibship and Leadership Position.)

In the Schmiedehof colony of our sample the pattern was somewhat different. This colony had two long houses running north and south, (Figure 17) but their floor plan was somewhat atypical. There were five entrances to each house: three entrances on the outside of the square and two on the inside. Each apartment had a sitting room and two bedrooms on the first floor. The second floor was finished with two large bedrooms. In this colony the prestige positions appeared to be the outside entrances rather than the inside ones, perhaps a further indication of the greater individualization found within this colony. In addition to the two long houses there are seven smaller houses. One is the house that was already there. It is used for two families. Three one-family houses were moved in and three single family houses were built in such a fashion that they can be easily moved when the colony is ready to branch. These small houses form the north side of the square that unifies the colony. The layout of this colony is less symmetrical than is typical; the living houses are not quite characteristic, and the church in a separate building that is used for nothing else, not even German school, is atypical.

Inside, the apartments vary a little from family to family and vary considerably from one colony to another and still more from one Leut to another. In the Lehrerhof the furniture has only recently been scraped of its traditional red paint and varnished. There are more schlafbanks (a settee that opens up into a bed for two children) in Lehrerleut colonies than among the other Leut and fewer bureaus and cabinets. The furnishing in a Lehrerhof apartment consists of the beds, schlafbank, cribs, chests, a table, and a few chairs. If one looks carefully at these pieces a trace of red paint may remain. In the Dariushof colony all the furniture is highly varnished light wood. They have not used red paint for years. There are beds, cribs, and many chests. But there are also some bureaus, an occasional cabinet, and only very rarely a schlafbank. The Schmiedeleut have a greater variety of furniture in their apartments and more of it has been purchased rather than all being made in the colony. Among the Lehrerleut and Dariusleut the apartments are so simple and neatly furnished they look almost bare. The Schmiedeleut apartments are fuller. Many more objects are in evidence and on the walls hang religious mottos (in German).

The floors are cement, wood, or covered with composition. There are small scatter rugs that can be machine washed but no carpets. Floor care reaches its peak in Dariusleut where floors are waxed twice a week and polished every day. One can often see his reflection in the floor of a Dariusleut home. In Lehrerleut the floors are well swept and scrubbed but not highly polished. The Schmiedeleut are less concerned about spotless floors and even allow the pet dogs to come into the house.

The walls of Hutterite homes are always plain white or pastel, decorated only by a wall thermometer, a calendar, and a clock. In Schmiedeleut also hang religious mottos. The walls and ceilings are painted in high gloss paint or highly varnished; the floors are waxed or varnished; the furniture is of light wood highly varnished; the windows are framed by white curtains. Extra rugs are kept under the bed during the daytime; the extra feather ticks are piled high on the double beds and covered with a white bedspread. The rooms are generally large, about eighteen feet square. Heat radiates from a well tended stove. Sometimes a few plants grow by the window. The impression these apartments give is of light, bright airiness and an uncluttered existence.

Most families have at least as much storage space as living space. Generally a large attic runs the length of the house and even though part of it may be partitioned off into rooms, there is still a great deal of space. A family may have thirty large locked chests lined up in the attic, interspersed with barrels, boxes, a spinning wheel if this is not the season for spinning, knitting machines, extra beds, brooms, buckets, winter boots, and all the many things that are needed sometimes or at some seasons but not at the moment. Thus in the living part of the house are found only those articles that are in constant use. Sentimental attachment is no justification for keeping an extra object. Orderliness is paramount.

Associated with the living houses are the outhouses. Generally each family has its own outhouse although sometimes two families will share one. Each family builds, locates, and constructs its own outhouse. It is almost never built in the central square, that is, there are no outhouses between the long houses and the kitchen. Often they are oriented away from the colony and may be hidden in bushes if there is such cover in the area. There is much variation in the fixtures and a variety of colors on the inside. There are never fewer than two seats, for privacy in the outhouse as elsewhere is not considered especially desirable. Some have a high shelf for extra supplies; some have seat covers hinged with leather; some have felt or fur-lined seats. Many have a rug on the floor. As this is a family responsibility and outhouses are rarely visited by non-family members, more individuality is shown here than any place else in the colony. In winter the problem is cold. It is often thirty degrees below zero. Bales of straw are stacked around the outside but still frost covers everything to a thickness of one or two inches. Extra seats, lined with fur, are kept behind the stove and carried out when needed. At Schmiedeleut each apartment has a chemical toilet in a small closet under the stairs. These were regularly used during the winter and by the old people. Dariusleut is discussing indoor plumbing and building it into new colonies. Even Lehrerleut is considering its advantages.

In addition to the outhouses most older apartments have a small outdoor shack. These were originally goose houses when each woman was responsible for rearing a small flock of goslings for the colony. In some colonies the sheds are used for coal for the stoves and in others for storage. Generally they are called goose houses, but sometimes summer houses or play houses, depending on the secondary use. Little girls may be allowed to use them for play houses during the summer. In other colonies the adolescent boys sleep in the goose houses during the summer. When heat is not a problem and sheds and attics can be used, the families spread out more to sleep. Family members live very close together during the long winter, for a couple does not get a second room until its fourth (Dariusleut) or sixth (Lehrerleut) child is born nor a third room until the arrival of the eighth or twelfth child.

A few colonies have built cement sidewalks, others put down wooden planks during the spring and summer and some haul in gravel to cover the mud in the paths. However, in most instances the paths simply develop haphazardly as the feet of the colonists beat down the grass in the summer and the snow in the winter. These paths show clearly the degree of traffic and indicate who visits whom and which are the central apartments. The paths emphasize the kitchen building and there is usually a direct path from the church to the kitchen. If only one path is surfaced it is generally the one between the kitchen and the church.

The kindergarten building

The kindergarten building is usually near the kitchen for the children's food must be carried to them for two or three meals and one snack each day. The preferred location is sufficiently removed from the long houses and the kitchen entrances so that the children will not see their mothers and try to go to them. Not only must the kindergarten be near the kitchen but it must also be close enough to the center of the colony so that the little children can walk from their apartments to the kindergarten building by themselves. That kindergarten is an integral part of the colony is reflected by its orientation towards the center of the colony (Figure 3) and its color which usually matches the kitchen and the living houses. In most colonies the kindergarten is surrounded by a closed-in yard to define the play area and keep the children from running home. There is considerable variation in attitude toward toys and play equipment. In many colonies no toys are allowed in the building because they say it makes the children fight. Some colonies have no play equipment outside either, although there is usually a sand pile. Sometimes there are home-made swings constructed from an old automobile tire that is cut in such a way that it can be turned inside out to make a swing with sides that is very safe even for tiny babies. Often there is a standard swing set with regular swings. Inside the house is usually a room in which the children eat at a low wooden table sitting on two long, backless wooden benches. (Spatial layout is shown in Figure 29.) There is a play room which may be used for eating in winter when heating is a problem. This room is empty except for a long bench, a table, and a stove. There is also a sleeping room in which the children nap. They sleep on a long wooden shelf that is covered with a blanket and then with a sheet of cardboard. Each child has his own pillow at his own place and the children sleep parallel to one another with their heads near the wall and their feet towards the center of the room (Fig. 30). Some colonies have indoor plumbing in the kindergarten building even when it is not found in the living houses. Other colonies have no running water in the building. They all have one or two small potty chairs. Nearby is an outhouse with one large seat for the teacher and about four little low seats for the children. There is also a daybed on which the kindergarten teacher can rest. If the children are all sleeping at noon they may be left alone while the kindergarten mother eats with the adults in the large dining room.

The School House

The school house for the elementary school children must be placed far enough from the center of the colony to provide a play area for recess, to meet government regulations, and to prevent the children from being distracted by the activity of the colony. (See Appendix C, Agreement Between a School Board and a Colony.) If the school house is also to be used for church services, as it is in most colonies, then the building must be sufficiently near for the old people to walk to it. The colony supplies a house in which the teacher lives that should be placed near the school and yet in a location that protects the privacy of the colony. These many requirements mean that the school is built just beyond the rectangle that includes the kitchen complex, the living houses, and the kindergarten. The teacherage is built beyond that. Usually the road to the teacherage branches directly from the state road and does not go through the colony.

Some of the colonies in the United States have private schools instead of government schools. These colonies hire their own teachers and buy their own school supplies. Although their teachers and school houses must meet state regulations, the colony has more control than they do over a public school. For example, they have more control over what holidays are observed. In many colonies in the United States and all of those in Canada the school is under the administration of the government which hires the teacher, supplies the books, and determines the curriculum. However, if the colony has a preference for one teacher and requests that he be hired, the school board is usually most cooperative. Also, the teachers respect the wishes of the colonists not to have movies, radios, and sometimes not to use phonographs. Usually the colony supplies the school house, keeps it clean, heated, and in good condition. The teacherage is rented to the teacher for a nominal sum. The school building may be used for church services or German school as long as this does not interfere with the public school curriculum. The state determines the days on which the children shall attend school and which holidays shall be observed.

In practice church is more often held in the school building than in any other place in the colony. The building is there, it is in good condition, is never in use during church hours, and is usually large enough to accommodate the entire colony. Also, this is a way of controlling the school and keeping colony values ever present. At the front of the school is the council bench that reminds the children of church. At the back of the school are the long, simple church pews for the adults, also suggesting the presence of the colony. Most important is the fact that church must be held in an absolutely unadorned room and thus because church is held every dry the teacher cannot leave material written on the blackboard or posted on the walls or bulletin board. Thus there are no pictures and usually no flags in the classroom. The school is kept as plain as their homes.

If the school is "private" it is usually more integrated into the colony as to location, the direction in which the building is oriented, and the color which it is painted. For indeed the colony does have more control over the private than the public school. But even within these colonies the school that is taught by an outside teacher is never considered to be as much a part of the community as the kindergarten. In the majority of colonies, where the school is under the direct supervision of the department of education, the building is more clearly outside the colony.

One Hutterite colony has a school house and school yard that are owned and maintained by the state. This is a very gay school house with bright colors, large built-in bulletinboards with newspaper clippings, charts, and maps, children's paintings on the walls, and even a glassed-in cupboard that functions as a small museum. This would of course be impossible if everything had to be removed each day for the church. Also this school has good playground equipment in a fenced-in yard. Many Hutterite elementary schools have no playground equipment other than a baseball bat and balls of various types. Sometimes a dedicated teacher will have built swings and see-saws for the children or a backstop for baseball. Recently the government has been providing more equipment for the public schools. This equipment is used only during the school year and during school hours. As one preacher told the children, "If you have enough energy to run around after the ball, it would be better for you to be working."

The Schulela

In the Lehrerleut colonies today, and formerly in some of the Dariusleut colonies, there is one year between kindergarten and the entrance to elementary school. During this period the German teacher has the five-year-olds with him all day and teaches them first their numbers, then their letters in Gothic German script, then basic German syllables, and finally they begin to read the New Testament, beginning with John "because John is so much easier than the other parts of the Testament." Often the German teacher is also the cobbler or bookbinder and the little children work at a small desk in the shop where he is doing his work. The building is usually known as the Schulela though it is also the shoe shop or book bindery. It is generally near the English school in which the German teacher holds German school for all the colony children. In Schmiedehof today the children leave the kindergarten at five and do not start school until six. During this year they are 'pre-schoolers' who go to German school before and after English school and to Sunday school, but they do not have any special school program of their own. In Dariushof the children stay in kindergarten until their sixth birthday at which time they leave. They may have a few months with no formal school or they may go directly into the English school, depending in which month the child's birthday falls.

Colony craft buildings

Just beyond the central buildings of the colony, but not as far removed as the animal barns and repair shops are little buildings for special crafts that are needed by the colony. Thus there is often a bookbindery where the hand-written sermon books are bound. There is a shoe shop where shoes are made for the women and girls and sometimes for the men and children of the colony. There may be a broom shop, perhaps a basket shop where willows are woven and a bee house where the honey is prepared. When geese are raised only for colony consumption there are little goose houses near the living houses. When geese and ducks become an important source of income, goose raising is transferred to the boss-ship of one of the men and the geese and ducks are kept in barns of their own. In this area of the colony and usually near the kitchen is a storage house and often an extra cooler. There is a butchering plant with vats for making soap, a smoke house and a root cellar.

Outer regions of the colony

The next area from the center includes the blacksmith shop, the carpentry shop, the garage, and the dairy barns (Figure 11). The shops are well equipped with all types of power tools, hoists, and even several welders. The dairy barns are kept very clean. Cows are never milked by hand; they are not even hand stripped. In some colonies the milk is piped directly from the cow to the refrigerated tank and never comes into contact with the air.

Beyond these buildings at various sides of the colony are built the chicken barns, pig barns, turkey barns, and horse barns. Horse raising is a declining occupation. Few teams are trained, mostly saddle horses are bred and broken. A colony may have a small herd of about 25. Some colonies still have a harness shop and tannery near the horse barn. Pigs, chickens, and turkeys are important sources of income. One colony in our sample sold over seventy thousand dollars worth of hogs in one year. Turkeys and chickens and chicken products may be of equal importance. These barns are modern, clean, and very well equipped. The pigs are separated by age and weight and are fed by methods that insure the fastest growth. Chickens are raised on wire and lay eggs over assembly belts, so that the eggs are gathered and graded automatically. The chickens are also watered and fed automatically in rooms with controlled temperature and light. Production records are kept. Turkeys are a newer specialty but have proved to be a good crop for most colonies that have tried them. The storage barns, granaries, and seed cleaning plant are built in this same general area of the colony. Here, too, use is made of modern equipment. Grain is never shoveled; it is moved with electric augers. There may be a feed mill in this part of the colony or the grain may be mixed and ground right in the barn where it will be fed.

The site for the colony vegetable garden is determined by the soil and topography more than by the exact location. In Dariusleut and Schmiedeleut the gardener is a woman; in the Lehrerleut the gardener is a man. It is convenient to have the garden not too far from the colony buildings. The gardener is usually a woman and the hoeing and picking are done primarily by women and the cooks gather some of the food for the dining room. However, normally the women do not walk to the garden. One of the men takes them in a wagon or truck. A typical garden has cabbage for sauerkraut, carrots, peas, parsnips, turnips, beets, corn, onions, potatoes, lettuce, cucumbers that are eaten fresh and pickled, green and yellow beans, dill for pickles, and rhubarb which is mixed with blueberries and canned for winter or used in wine. Potatoes are often grown in a separate garden. Sometimes tomatoes, cauliflower, and raspberries are raised. Some colonies raise poppyseeds for a special type of bun, and various teas, especially [illegible]. Grain that must be hand-tended is planted in the garden until enough has been raised to seed a field. From the barley seed in one envelope that had been sent from Russia to a Dukhobore and then given to a colony, two-and-a-half acres had been planted in barley. New varieties of wheat are also raised by hand until there is enough seed to try in the field. Most colonies sell some truck garden produce. One colony in our sample sold $3,600 worth of garden produce in addition to the vegetables they consumed and gave to other colonies.

The ducks and geese are kept near a slough, pond, or stream. If they are raised only for colony use they may be protected from coyotes and foxes by fencing during the night and left free during the day. In colonies where ducks and geese provide a cash income, there are special barns and brooder houses. In most colonies each bird is plucked three times. The first two pluckings take place when it is alive, the third after it has been butchered. Duck is served for Sunday dinner; goose is eaten on Christmas.

The field crops include the grains: wheat, barley, and oats. Sometimes corn is grown as a field crop, sometimes as a garden crop. Hay is raised: this may be timothy mixed with alfalfa, it may be primarily clover. In some areas the native grass is harvested every other year. This rich food is known as prairie wool and is usually available even during drought years. Hay is fed to the livestock. Straw is mixed with feed and also used for bedding. Occasionally some is sold to neighbors as a courtesy. Grains may be sold or are used to mix feed for the livestock which provides the major cash income. The Hutterites no longer grind their own flour for bread.

Many colonies fatten steers and heifers on their pasture land, supplemented by winter feeding at large feed sheds. A few cattle are butchered for colony use during the winter, but most of them are sold to provide cash income.

Sheep may be cared for in the colony or may be grazed at a sheep camp some distance from the rest of the colony land. The wool is sold or is washed and carded and then spun by the women or sometimes it is sent out to be spun and returned as yarn. During the summer the colonists eat mutton. Sheep are butchered each Friday to supply the meat. Lambs ready for market are hauled to the trading center and sold.

Ideally the colony would hold its land in one parcel in the center of which would be a level, well drained area with available water, to be used for the colony buildings, barns, and sheds. However, this is rarely the case. Generally the necessary amount of land must be purchased over a period of time and the various parcels are not all contiguous. Those parts of a colony frequently visited by non-colonists, such as the car-garage and in some colonies the blacksmith shop, ideally are oriented towards the road rather than the center of the colony and are at some distance from the center. An effort is made to purchase intervening and neighboring land.

For the colonists space is more important in relationships and patterns of movement than in specific geographic locations. This is not surprising. Hutterites consider life in this world to be transient, temporary, and of no consequence where it is lived. "We had our thank you Sermon which we delivered to our dear Savior that grants us peace in Strange lands under Jew and Gentiles," wrote a Hutterite preacher. Virtually every Hutterite girl moves to a new colony when she marries. The average time between branching is about 14 years, so that by the time a person has grown children he has lived at three to five different locations. When a new colony is started buildings are moved in. Often the new buildings are made to be moved. This is especially true if the purchasing of the land has not been completed before building begins. Sometimes houses and sheds are built to be moved out with the colonists at the next time of branching.

The spatial orientation of the buildings, especially the long living houses, is in keeping with the preferred pattern of an ordered universe. The layout and color of the buildings reflect the Hutterite thinking in which everything is classified: each part of the universe has its correct place which in turn determines its correct function and proper use. The temporal patterns of the community reflect a rigid order for every activity. The social patterns of the community reflect their belief in a hierarchical world in which everyone has his ordained place, and associated with each position is the correct behavior required to those above him in the hierarchy and to those below him.

The interaction patterns beyond the colony during a two week period in the summer and the distances travelled are shown in Table 1 and in Figure 17. Visitors to the colony and the kin-positions or status of those they came to visit are shown in Figure 18. The spatial patterns beyond the colony were documented sufficiently to reveal the extent and range of contacts with persons and places outside of the immediate family environment. The common assertion that the colonies are isolated from outsiders, ~~that members~~ do not travel, or that they do not receive visitors is not substantiated by these findings. The spatial distribution of the colony sites and the distances they are located from each other is visually shown by the map in Figure 2.

The Bruderhof is the concrete expression and product of the Hutterite belief system, the social environment and process in which the beliefs are transmitted to the children and reinforced for the adults. What gives a Hutterite identity is not the place he has lived, nor having lived in one place, but rather that in spite of geographic moves the pattern of his life has always been the same even to the floor plan of his house and position of his home relative to that of his neighbors. A specific space is not important--specific relationships are of extreme importance.

CHAPTER 7. TEMPORAL PATTERNS

In the daily round of meals and work the Hutterites are always keenly aware of the passage of time. Secular time is measured in minutes, to some extent in years, and is very vaguely understood in terms of centuries. Secular time passes very quickly as do all material things that are associated with it. Obviously time and money are not considered interchangeable (Franklin: "Time is money.") The time needed for a complete operation is considered, but not the time given by one individual. When the carpenter makes an extra piece of furniture for a colony member (beyond that provided by the colony) that person is charged for the wood but not for the carpenter's time. Time and energy are not interchangeable. One exerts more energy in order to accomplish the task quickly, never the reverse. The speed with which one works gives one some status. Thus a woman will always tell you how long it took her to make an article of clothing. Several women wash dishes simultaneously, one or two rinse, the rest dry and put away. Dishes for forty people can be washed, dried, and put away in seven minutes. This is much faster than a mechanical dishwasher. Both the adults and children set up tasks in such a way that the speed with which they are finished is obvious. The daily schedule (See Figures 22, 23) is so tight that in order to accomplish anything outside the schedule the individual must work quickly. There is little savoring of the moment, for the attitude towards almost everything in this earthly life is to get it over with. This applies to meals, to work, and even to life itself which is believed to be short, transitory, and of significance only as it relates to eternal time.

Just as material objects are not owned, so a Hutterite has no concept of private time. Time is not something that can be reserved for an individual for his own use; it belongs to God and the individual's responsibility is to be thrifty and use it well. This can lead to a lack of understanding of office hours and of "time off" as observed by doctors and veterinarians in the outside world. The Hutterites cannot understand a secular man's substitution of private time for sacred time nor his need to relieve the pace of the work-a-day world with intervals of time for himself, for the Hutterite does not see time as neatly divided between economic (or required) activity and private (or elected) activity. Instead of compartmentalizing time for different uses the Hutterite believes it is his responsibility to maintain the temporal pattern of the universe by doing his appointed jobs in the correct order, as they are needed at the proper time.

Time and social groupings

Length of time already spent on this earth, in other words age, is the major criterion for classifying individuals within their own sex groupings. A child cannot tell the age of an adult in his colony, but he can recite all the men in order of age rank and all the women in order of age rank. However, he can only vaguely relate the age of a specific man to a given woman. The child's life is sharply defined by his age which is the single criterion used to place him in his group. Time, as represented by age, is an important means for establishing a hierarchy in a small face-to-face group. Conceptions of age-grouping, with slight modifications, are: infancy, kindergarten, school, adult work group prior to baptism, and adulthood with baptism, and maturity with marriage.

Conception of history

Intermediate between secular and sacred are ways of thinking about history and dreams. For the Hutterites history is important as a dimension of the presence of God in the world. They are not interested in history as dates on a secular time scale but as steps in the development of the church of God. Therefore, historical events that are unrelated to their own religious outlook on life are of little meaning to them and even their own history is remembered as it strengthens their faith rather than as a dated sequence of events. Thus there is some fusion of the beginning of Christianity (the historic period of Christ's birth and the writing of the Bible) with the beginning of the Hutterites (during the persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the writing of their own sermons). Miracles of the sixteenth century may be mixed with those of the nineteenth for the worldly date is unimportant compared with the fact that God "broke into history." Profane time of history is recalled primarily as it illustrates eternity.

Dreams too are intermediate between secular and sacred time. Unlike activities in secular time that should pass quickly and one does not wish to extend, a Hutterite may report that he did not want to "leave that dream." Occasionally dreams may be equated with visions and then, too, they are outside the secular time scale.

Sacred time

The irreversible pace of secular time is, in a Hutterite colony, suspended and relieved during intervals of sacred time. "Religious man feels the need to plunge periodically into this sacred and indestructible time. For him it is sacred time that makes possible the other time, ordinary time, the profane duration in which every human life takes its course." (Eliade 1961: 88). These intervals of sacred time occur daily for the Hutterites at their worship services. Then the total community of school children and adults gather together. During these services the people symbolically return to the time of their origins and are renewed as they participate in the events of their own creation. The sermons to which they listen were written during periods of persecution when the Hutterites were becoming a distinct people; they are not spontaneous or intellectual lectures on contemporary concerns. Even the rhythm of the preacher's voice differs from ordinary speech during this period of suspended temporality. As the preachers slowly read the sermons, unhurriedly recite the prayers and the congregations stretch the long, slow hymns, time is suspended: there is no rush to complete this task for now they are in a different time dimension.

The ritualization of time

The relationships of 70 to 130 people, living, eating, and working together, demand a fairly detailed scheduling of time. A deep belief in a divinely created, ordered universe that is completely directed and moved according to God's plan, further dictates an ordering of time.

There are two classes of time-bound activities: those that are announced by the ringing of the colony bell and those that are unannounced (See Figure 22). Events that always follow unified colony activity are not announced by the bell. Thus adults go directly from church service to the meal. It would be unnecessary to ring the bell. Activities that do not require the coming together of large segments of the colony or that take place primarily within the home are not announced by the bell. Thus the mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks that are eaten at home or at the place of work are not announced by a bell. On a summer morning the bell is rung to waken the colony (6:15 a.m.), to call the adults to breakfast (6:30), to call the women to work (at a time between 7:15-8:30), to announce that food is ready to be carried to the kindergarten and house children (10:00), that dinner is ready for the school children (11:00), that the men should get ready for dinner (11:30), that the adults should eat dinner (11:45), that the women must do colony work (anytime between 1:30-2:30), that it is time for the school children's supper (5:30), and if there is no church, then the bell is rung to announce supper for the adults. Church services are of a different order of importance than regular temporal activities; this supremely important gathering together of the whole community is not announced by the bell.

The types of schedules involving colony life are daily, weekly, seasonal, liturgical (annual), and branching. The daily schedule of activities involves all members of the colony. The weekly schedule culminates in the "Sunday complex." Work on different days of the week varies little for the men, but a considerable amount of the women's colony and family work is structured by the days of the week. Ultimately most of this patterning is directed by the need to be prepared for Sunday. There is also an annual patterning of life that is integrated with the agricultural cycle and violent seasonal fluctuations that are found in the northern plains areas where the Hutterites have settled.

The liturgical calendar (See Appendix D, 18) punctuates the year and helps divide it into definable seasons. During the long and uneventful winter, events are placed by relating them to the liturgical calendar; during the busy agricultural season events are usually related to the major agricultural activity. Thus pigs are butchered "between Three Kings Day and Easter," but the baker makes Tuesday treats "from before seeding till after harvest." The liturgical cycle and the agricultural cycle are interrelated. Common to Christianity is the celebration of Christmas (Appendix D, 19: Holidays) the beginning of the Christian world at the transition to lengthening rather than shortening days, and at the New Year. Easter is celebrated on its appointed Sunday in the Spring. In addition to these universal Christian holidays, there are special services that are performed at the correct time for the specific colony. Thus the harvest sermon is read the Sunday after the harvest is actually gathered in.

The typical daily schedule is modified by the weather. In winter when the daylight hours are few and when there is less work for a primarily agricultural people, the rising bell rings later (7:00 at Dariushof, 7:15 at Schmiedehof) and evening church and supper are earlier (See Figure 22). If it rains during haying season, the rising bell may ring at 7:00 instead of 6:15 because the hay is too wet to cut. When the men are busy haying food is sent out to the fields to them and they they are fed when they return for the night which may be as late as ten o'clock. If the women are not quite finished with their colony work, supper may be served late for all the adults, in order to let them finish before the meal. If colony work is too pressing, the daily church service may be omitted.

Female vs. male time schedule

One of the characteristics of the Hutterite daily schedule is the small blocks of time into which it is divided. The schedule can most easily be illustrated by describing the work of a specific woman on a winter day when she has no rotating colony assignment and there is no specific colony job that calls the women together to work. In other words, this is the basic schedule to which would be added rotating tasks and jobs announced by the ringing of the work bell.

This typical Hutterite woman whom we shall call Katie is in her mid-thirties. She has six children who range in age from 12 years down to eight months. Her day starts at five in the morning when she takes the baby into bed with her and nurses him. At 6:15 the alarm rings and she gets up, dresses, prays, washes and braves the sub-zero weather on the trip to the outhouse. She wakens her husband who follows the same procedure and then one of them dresses the two youngest children while the other mops the floor. The waking bell rings at 7:15 when the older children climb out of bed, dress, pray, and wash. Then the oldest daughter (age nine) rushes over to the next long house where she baby-sits for her aunt during the adult breakfast. The oldest boy empties the bucket of wash-water. The mother makes four feather beds, puts the baby on the little potty chair where he is watched by his eight-year-old sister, supervises the four-year-old as he dresses to walk to kindergarten, bundles up the two-year-old and just before the breakfast bell rings at 7:30 starts through the snow with her husband. The two-year-old is left with his grandfather, the preacher, who eats his breakfast at home and therefore can watch the pre-kindergarten toddlers. The parents continue on to the kitchen for their breakfast. Immediately after breakfast the mother or the father gathers food to take back to feed the house children. Katie helps wash dishes and then starts back to her house, picking up the two-year-old on the way. The moment she steps inside the door, the baby sitter rushes off to her breakfast and the mother proceeds to feed the house children. She will not see the kindergarten child until mid-afternoon; she will not see the school children for more than a moment until after the adults' supper dishes are washed at about 6:30. Katie washes the dishes from the house children's breakfast and picks up the house. If her husband is working nearby or working alone, he may return for a snack at about 9:00; otherwise he has a snack with the men at his place of work or in the kitchen. The mother sews until 10:00 at which time she takes her pail and goes to the kitchen to get food for the house children. The two-year-old is fed as soon as she returns, the nursing baby not until 11:00. At 11:15 the two-year-old is put down for a nap and the baby is nursed and put into his crib. At 11:45 the adults eat, then the women do the dishes and return to the houses where they can rest if the house children are sleeping. After resting they have a snack or sew until their husbands come for a snack at about 2:00. Katie sews until about three-thirty when the kindergarten children come home. She washes then and combs the front of her hair and at four o'clock takes her pail and goes to the kitchen to get supper for the house children and the kindergartener. She feeds them, washes their dishes and puts the baby down for a nap. At five o'clock the school children have their supper and at five-thirty the community gathers for church. School age children who are baby sitters are excused from church to watch the pre-school and kindergarten children during church and the adults' supper. In Dariushof there are two sitters assigned to each family so that they can take turns sitting and attending church and will not have to miss church more than half the time. In Lehrerhof only one sitter is assigned to a family and the sitter never attends church, in fact she has no assigned place for the service. After supper the school children memorize their German school verses, while the little children play. Between eight and nine o'clock the children are given a snack, washed, their prayers supervised, and they are put to bed.

During the summer this same woman has a great deal more work. Cleaning is much heavier in the summer because the children and adults track in dirt and mud; in the winter shoes are removed at the door and so the floors stay clean. There is also a great deal more colony work to do. It is an unusual weekday in the summer when the women have no colony work to do.

During a full summer Friday the women washed the entrance rooms, the steps and porches of their apartments, and waxed and polished all the inside floors. Much of this was done before the rising bell at 6:15. As usual they dressed the children and got them off to kindergarten or breakfast, had their own breakfast, returned and fed the house children and before much more work could be done in the house, the work bell rang. From 7:15 until 12:00 the women butchered, plucked and cleaned the ducks. They washed the laundry, had dinner, fed their house children and at 1:30 came back to prepare peas for freezing. At five o'clock the mothers of house children quickly fed them, then returned to work on peas until 6:45, at which time they stopped for supper. There was no church service. After supper, until 8:30 p.m., the women scrubbed the dining room and kitchen floors; then they went home, bathed their house children, and gave everyone a snack, supervised prayers, and put the children to bed.

Other than the basic schedule of rising, meals, snacks, and church, it is more difficult to generalize about a typical Hutterite man's day. Most married men are assigned to supervise a particular aspect of the colony economy and the nature of this assignment largely determines the details of his daily schedule. Thus the chicken man gathers eggs four times a day and takes them to market once a week regardless of the season of the year. In contrast, the field boss's day varies with the season of the year, the exact stage of the crops in the different fields, and the weather on any specific day. However, the daily activity of all Hutterites over six weeks of age is patterned by the colony schedule.

The weekly time pattern

With the exception of the Sunday complex, the days of the week do not differ very much for the men. Some bosses have a specific day for selling. Eggs and chickens are delivered once a week, cream is sometimes delivered on certain days, and vegetables peddled on given days. Other produce is generally sold when it is ready and the market is good. For the women there are different work patterns for the different days of the week. On Monday the women do their family washing at the community washhouse at the time assigned to them. They wash in rotation beginning with the oldest woman and ending with the youngest. They move up one turn each week so that it is absolutely fair. The time of washing varies slightly from one colony to another although Monday is always the primary washing day and usually Monday morning is the main time. Some colonies start washing Sunday afternoon, others before breakfast on Monday, about 4:00 a.m., others not until after breakfast. Ideally a woman does all the washing for her family and finishes the ironing and the mending on Monday. This is only possible if she is fortunate enough to wash early that week and if there is no colony work in the afternoon. A colony may mildly boast that everyone is finished washing before 10:30 Monday morning.

In Dariushof the women tried to polish their floors every day, but if they were not able to do this they always polished them with push brushes on Tuesdays and Fridays. During the summer the school girls picked peas for the kitchen on Tuesday mornings. On Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays the women hoed the garden and picked vegetables. In some colonies women with small children wash again on Thursday. Friday is a major cleaning day. The kitchen and dining room cement floors are scrubbed with hot water and soap by all the women. The women clean their own houses and wax and polish the floors. The cook, the baker, and the milking woman clean their respective work areas. One of the work teams makes noodles. Saturday morning all the women roll buns and the unmarried girls scrub the school house so it will be ready for the Sunday services. Also women's work assignments change on Sunday nights and they want to leave their place of work clean. All the intensive cleaning at the end of the week is in preparation for Sunday. Everything and everyone must be clean for Sunday.

There is a pattern for the food. During the summer in Dariushof bread is baked on Monday and Wednesday, and on Friday if it is necessary; rolls are baked on Saturday, and on Tuesday from before seeding till after harvest, when the boys are working hard, a treat is baked for the people to eat in their homes. The meals have a pattern that varies somewhat with the season and varies considerably from one colony to another, but in most instances the basic weekly pattern is followed. This is sufficiently uniform that the regular sweetened orange pekoe tea that is served every Saturday supper is called "Saturday tea," to distinguish it from the medicinal and/or herbal teas that are drunk in the homes. An individual with stomach trouble may regularly skip a certain meal because he knows the food which will be served then does not agree with him. Pork is only eaten in winter; during the summer sheep are butchered every Friday and mutton is supplemented with duck and chicken. Steers are butchered at intervals throughout the year. Certain foods are related to the work. When the men or women are working especially hard, beer may be served during the job and wine is served at the table to everyone. When the children have worked particularly well, every child at the table gets a candy bar.

Weekdays are fairly uniform, but Sunday is a very different day. Sunday lasts from Gebet (prayer service on Saturday) until Gebet on Sunday. However preparations for Sunday start much earlier. There is the major cleaning on Friday. In colonies where there are limited bathing facilities the school girls and kindergarten children are bathed on Friday. On Saturday the church room is scrubbed and kindergarten and German school last only until noon in order to give everyone an opportunity to prepare for Sunday. Those who did not bathe on Friday bathe between dinner and Gebet on Saturday afternoon, the women and girls have their hair combed, the men and boys have their hair and beards trimmed if it is needed. Ideally this preparation is finished before Gebet, but during the busy summer the boys and men may have to finish their preparations after supper. The women and girls wear special Saturday afternoon dresses to Gebet and supper on Saturday. That evening everyone is supposed to sing hymns informally and to visit, discussing religion and Hutterite history. People try to go to bed early on Saturday night so they will not be tired for Sunday. Sunday morning the waking bell rings late, at 7:30 in Dariushof. The women wear nice dresses to Sunday breakfast, the school children wear clean clothes to breakfast and the kindergarteners, because they do not attend church, wear regular clothes. Kindergarten lasts only until about 10:30. Children are often cared for during this time by one of the school children of the kindergarten teacher so that she will be free to attend church. After breakfast the women and girls change into "Bible clothes" and at 9:00 go to church wearing dresses that are worn only for Lehr (church).

When church is over the women and girls change to Sunday afternoon dresses and proceed immediately to Sunday dinner which is always a noodle soup followed by duck, goose, or chicken. After the adult dinner, which usually begins at about 10:40, the school children eat, and the house children and kindergarteners are fed in the long houses. After dinner everyone takes a long Sunday afternoon rest. At 1:30 the unbaptized members of the colony assemble for Sunday school in the church room. Here they demonstrate how well they listened to the morning sermon and recite the hymn verses they had to memorize for that week. Usually Sunday school is finished at about 2:30 although sometimes the older unbaptized young people will be held to discuss behavioral problems. During this time the other colony members are resting or enjoying a leisurely snack in their homes. Families are together Sunday afternoon; there is some visiting within the colony, and if there is another colony within easy traveling distance there is sure to be an exchange of visits with the visitors attending Sunday evening Gebet (4:30) and supper (5:15) at the colony they are visiting. After supper, Sunday is over, and people put on regular weekday clothes and work, if necessary.

Colonies vary in the strictness with which they observe Sunday. Some allow absolutely no unnecessary work, although none are puritanical in their definition of necessary. Other colonies are quite relaxed about observing Sunday and permit clothes to be washed and garden produce to be picked, occasionally even ducks are plucked on Sunday afternoon. At a strict colony the minister refused to allow the women to be called for any colony work even after supper on Sunday. He also did not permit traveling that would cause members to miss the main Sunday church service. The cooks complain that the kitchen is always in a mess on Monday morning because Sunday supper is too early and too small and so everyone is hungry and comes into the kitchen for a snack before going to bed. It is a combination of having less to eat on Sunday and also being bored because there is so little work they may do.

Preparation for Sunday and the different schedule function to distinguish holy days from work days, sacred time from secular time, for the same preparations and schedules are followed before and during other days, such as Circumcision day, Three Kings day, and Annunciation day that are treated as Sunday no matter on which day of the week they fall. In a Hutterite colony Sunday is long. Each one is reminded that God's time is measured by eternity which contrasts strongly to the swift flow of hours and days during the busy work week.

Branching time pattern

The time cycle of a typical colony from founding until branching is about 14 years. During this time a colony may increase from 70 to 130 persons.

Branching time and colony size varies slightly with Leut. (See Figures 4, 5, 6: Branching of Hutterian Bruderhofs.) By counting the number of branchings since 1918 we discovered that the Schmiedeleut had 60 branchings with a growth span averaging 13.5 years. For the 42 Dariusleut branchings, the average growth span was 13.6 years. The Lehrerleut had 30 branchings with an average of 15.2 years between founding and branching. (We eliminated the branching prior to 1918 since during World War I there was considerable migration of the group to Canada and thus an external interference with the demographic processes. Their period of most natural, undisturbed branching occurred since 1918.) These findings generally support the observations made by the Hutterite leaders that Dariusleut tend to branch sooner than other Leut and that they have smaller colonies. The mean size of the colonies in 1965 were: Dariusleut 82.7, Schmiedeleut 97.5, and Lehrerleut 103.0. The mean size for all colonies was 94. (See Table 1).

Branching means a re-grouping of the extended families, the formation of a new social organization with new authority and work roles. These 14 years are characterized by at least two stages: the first is austerity and hard work with limited expenditure as there is a colony debt which must be eliminated. As the colony reaches full utilization of its land resources it gradually reaches the second stage, that of a well-to-do status. It makes substantial savings of $20,000 or more each year. It can loan money to other colonies until branching time. The colony can afford more machines: six combines rather than two or three. The colony can afford more equipment for the kitchen and the women indirectly benefit from group "luxuries" such as colony deepfreezes, lawn mowers, and a large automatic coffee maker. A well-to-do colony has the additional problem of guarding against individual pleasures, such as disapproved forms of moonlighting for the neighbors, and of keeping everyone occupied at meaningful productive jobs and of managing the "political" elements in the leadership structure.

Summary

Time in two dimensions, sacred and secular, is for the colony part of the order of the universe. God, the creator of the universe, is believed to be without beginning or end. His time is eternal, non-flowing, sacred. Profane or secular time is a dimension of all created things, of everything that has a beginning and an end; it is transitory and characterized by speed of flow. Events within secular time are relatively unimportant for they will pass.

The Hutterite participates in both dimensions of time. His body belongs to secular time and therefore its comforts should not be of undue concern. His spirit can become part of sacred time or eternity if he chooses to follow the narrow path of Hutterite life. Using Hutterite terminology, the first step into eternity takes place when the individual is born through the Word, faith, and the Holy Spirit (Rideman 68), the final step takes place after death when he is judged by his actions and through divine grace enters into heaven. God has no beginning and no end, the Christian soul has a beginning but no end, but material objects have both a beginning and an end and therefore can be understood only in terms of secular time.

CHAPTER 8. FAMILY PATTERNS AND STAGES OF LIFE

Status of the child

The Hutterite nuclear family lives together in an apartment in one of the long houses. It consists of a man and his wife and all his unmarried children. The primary role of the Hutterite nuclear family is to produce new souls and to care for them until the colony can take over this care. In the Middle Ages a child entered the adult world almost as soon as he was weaned. Similarly, one of the earliest Hutterite statements proclaimed "as soon as the mother hath weaned the child she giveth it to the school"(Rideman 1950: 130). In a society that did not recognize the nuclear family as a social or emotional unit, the family's unique role was finished when the child was weaned. Thereafter any responsible person could take over the care of these small, dependent adults. However, in most of society during the Middle Ages the child remained with his nuclear family until he was about seven years old, for until that time he was so dependent that no one else would take him. A thirteenth century poem (Ariès 1962: 22) expresses it:

> Thus the child six summers old
> Is not worth much when all is told.

The development of schools for the very young among the Hutterites probably has several explanations. The first is a religious one. The Hutterites believed that children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; thus they gave them early to schools where "as soon as they can speak, the sisters lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths and teach them to speak with or from the same, tell them of prayer and such things as children can understand." (Rideman 130.) This teaching is reminiscent of St. Jerome's instructions at the end of the fourth century on how to raise a child to enter the religious life: "The little girl's first baby talk is to come from the Bible" (Ducket 1965: 14). Secondly, parents were believed to be "by nature too soft with their children and have not the strength to keep them away from evil" (Ehrenpreis 1652 and 1953: 64-67). During the second half of the seventeenth century in Europe the family was becoming child centered. Ehrenpreis, writing in 1652, was probably attempting to counteract this development. Thirdly, a sociological explanation is that these schools freed the mothers for colony work.

Throughout the fifteenth century and in many instances well into the sixteenth, children of all classes left their parents' home at about the age of seven in order to obtain an education. They lived in the home of their master whom they served as an apprentice or a house servant learning a trade or courtly manners, or they might live in the house of a teacher who instructed them in Latin. Some children were sent to university towns when as young as ten or eleven years old. There, generally in the service of an older scholar, they lived where they could, attended classes with varying degrees of regularity, and supported themselves by begging. (Monroe 1904: 109). In contrast to this the Hutterites kept their young children in the colony and although by twentieth century standards they relinquished most of their control over them, compared with early sixteenth century society they kept their children close to them and maintained contact with them at all times. Even during the period when Hutterite children slept at the school, a school discipline mentions parents visiting the school and taking "their children home to themselves for a visit" (Discipline of 1568, Appendix D, 3).

Functions and relationships in the family

During the years of childhood, from two-and-a-half or three until fifteen, the role of the family is supplementary to that of the colony. The family performs those functions that cannot easily or efficiently be performed by the colony. Children are not thought of as private enterprise nor as an extension of the parents' ego, but as gifts of God who belong to the colony insofar as the colony is coterminous with the church and represents the body of Christ; they belong to society. After the age of fifteen, when the child becomes a person, his family takes him back emotionally somewhat as the family in the Middle Ages welcomed back their children after the long years away. This relationship between generations continues throughout the life of the parent. The sons marry and settle down in the colony of their parents; the girls leave the home colony when they marry; but with the birth of every child the girl's mother returns to her and cares for her, and once a year she returns to her home colony for a visit. Thus the "line" is maintained. In other words, there is an emotional identification with the family of origin and the colony of origin that is not unlike the identification and sense of loyalty that individuals felt for their "line" during the Middle Ages. In some respects this loyalty to the continuing social group is greater than to the nuclear family which must reform each generation. Thus when a few Hutterite members joined the "Juliusleut" (a Hungarian communal group in Ontario) some of the nuclear families divided with the women going with their parents and leaving their husbands. By contrast the nuclear family in America is considered the primary social unit that exists almost in isolation from society and from obligations to a larger extended family. An extreme expression of this attitude is occasionally heard when a parent proclaims, "As soon as any of my children marry, I tell them not to come running home to me; they can solve their own problems"; or "once they marry, the door is shut." This cutting off of the nuclear family turns it in upon itself for emotional satisfactions and gives it great freedom of action by removing most of the responsibilities between generations and between brothers and sisters. The strength of the nuclear family in the United States is indicated by the fact that most of us do not applaud, indeed we are shocked by the person who places loyalty to his parent or his brother above loyalty to his spouse and children. In our society there is a sudden change from intense involvement in one nuclear family (the family of orientation) to intense involvement in another nuclear family (the family of procreation). Because the Hutterite colony functions in many ways as a family and because Hutterite society has institutionalized a continuing relationship between parents and children, the nuclear family is less sharply delineated and is emotionally less demanding and exclusive.

The average age at the time of marriage is 23½ for the men and 22 for the women (Mange: 1963, 84). The medium size of the completed family is 10.8 children born alive (Sheps 1965). When a couple is first married they are given a room and if possible an entrance of their own. As their family increases they are given additional rooms. The apartment is the center of the universe for the tiny child under two and a half or three, but for the older members it is primarily a place to sleep and to store things. Life is lived outside the apartment. All meals are eaten in the central dining room; food preparation takes place outside the long house; clothes are washed in the colony; laundry and even baths are taken in colony bath houses. The long houses are built on a sixteenth century floor plan; they usually consist of a building about 100 feet long and 36 feet wide running north and south, with four entrances (Fig. 18). There is a middle room and two bedrooms associated with each entrance. From the middle room stairs go to the attic which is often one large room in which all the families in that long house store their out-of-season clothing and furniture.

There is little privacy. Children run around in the attic and into one another's apartments through the attic entrance. Colony people do not knock when they visit one another, nor do they hesitate to enter if no one is home. Not only is privacy not emphasized, constant surveillance by the colony is valued. During a discussion of the natural sinfulness of man one Hutterite minister explained what a fortunate thing it is there are always one hundred eyes watching everyone. This watching is a brotherly concern and a natural result of living close to one another. It is not to be confused with prying, against which the Hutterites feel very strongly. A member who pries is referred to as a spy.

The Hutterite life cycle is sharply divided into stages that do not correspond simply to biological phases but also represent social function. (Figures 24, 25, 26). The small child who is still fed at home is referred to as a house child. The children from three to six years of age who attend the Kleinschul or kindergarten are called kindergarteners. In Dariushof children start kindergarten at three, at Schmiedehof and Lehrerhof at two-and-a-half. The children from six to fifteen years of age attend the Grossschul or German school. They also attend English school from about the time they are six until the day before they are fifteen. At fifteen the child enters the adult dining room and becomes a person. (For Rites of Passage, see Appendix B). The period between fifteen and baptism is sometimes referred to as "the in-between years" or "foolish years." The "foolish" in this instance does not refer to juvenile delinquency. It means simply that the person is immature and sometimes wavering in his loyalties, but not in his work and behavior. Baptism signifies membership in the colony and is usually followed rather closely by marriage. The married men hold the responsible colony positions until they become too old. They they retire and as aged members are given special privileges and special care. Although there are separate, distinct phases in the life of a Hutterite, one concept overlaps several stages. A child is a baby until he hits back, until the next one is born, until he enters kindergarten, until he enters German school. A person becomes an adult when he begins eating in the adult dining room at fifteen years of age, when he is baptized, when he is married, when he grows a beard, when his first child is born.

House children: birth to three years

A Hutterite baby may be born at the colony or in a modern hospital. Following the birth of the baby the mother is given special care. Ideally her mother comes from her home colony to take care of her for four weeks. During this period she and her nurse are relieved of all colony work so that the nurse can take care of the mother and her family and the mother can take care of the baby. During this brief period both the mother and the baby are treated as individuals. The baby is not forced to fit into a rigid schedule but is cared for and nursed as needed. The new mother does not leave her apartment but she has many visitors. When she feels ready, anywhere from the third to the sixth week after the baby is born, she attends church. This signals the beginning of her reintegration into colony life and the concomitant integration of the child into the patterned life of the colony.

Hutterites characterize the neonatal child as vulnerable and demanding. The baby is never left alone either day or night. Some responsible person, usually the mother, is always within earshot watching and caring for the baby. The baby wears a cap on his head, is swaddled with a blanket wrapped over his clothes and tied into a firm, straight bundle with a narrow cord woven just for this purpose. Swaddling is said to make the baby easier to handle and play with (that is, less easily damaged). A red ribbon or cord is tied around the baby's wrist to protect him. In some colonies it is said that the red ribbon protects the baby from the evil eye, in others it is said to keep the baby from being fussy, from having colic, or it just helps give general protection. Even though the efficacy of the red cord is not believed by all, its use indicates the vulnerability attributed to the baby. This is not completely without justification for there seems to be a fairly high neonatal death rate.

The neonatal baby is considered demanding. He is usually fed on a schedule, but this is modified if he seems hungry sooner. In any event he is constantly attended. By Hutterite standards, this tiny soul that has in no way adjusted to the dictates of society and from whom the mother does not escape into colony work is most demanding.

The mother may continue to eat in her apartment until the seventh week and then she is free to go around the colony. She may continue to eat at home until this time, but most women are so anxious to eat with the other people and to help with the light work that they return to eating in the kitchen as soon as it is permitted, generally at the beginning of the fifth week. While the mother is gradually being reintegrated into the work of the colony, the baby is being fitted into a schedule determined by the pattern of colony life. Among the Dariusleut, on the first Monday after the baby is six weeks old, the mother starts to help wash the dishes in the kitchen; on the Monday after the baby is eight weeks old she does the milking and if her team makes noodles she helps; when the baby is ten weeks old she bakes for the colony and hoes in the garden if it is that season of the year; when the baby is thirteen weeks old she cooks for the colony and is now "back into orbit" as one woman expressed it. She is now carrying a full work load, and therefore the baby must adapt to the colony schedule, for barring an emergency, when the bell rings the mother puts the baby in the crib and walks out. The colony already takes precedence over the individual.

Between five weeks and thirteen weeks of age the baby not only is fitted into the colony schedule but his first lessons in religion begin. When solid food is introduced into his diet his mother folds his hands in hers and prays with him both before and after feeding him. Religion is already a ritual, a formal activity and a social activity. It is intimately associated with food. The baby rarely leaves the apartment and is not to be taken with the mother when she is working. "We say that the air in the kitchen is bad for babies." (Probably the sudden exposure to all the circulating germs would be bad for the baby.) While the mother is doing her colony work, the baby is often left alone. Even if he is watched by a young child, the caretaker is not allowed to pick up the baby, but can try to distract him if he cries or can call his mother should a real emergency arise. A mother who is cooking for the week may ask, "Did you hear the baby crying when you walked past?" The mothers experience ambivalence during this period when they must leave the babies to perform their colony work and then rush back to give them needed care.

Swaddling is usually stopped during this period, particularly in the summer when it might make the baby too hot. However, the baby's head is covered at all times. Visitors talk to the baby and coo over him as do children who gain status by being allowed to care for a young baby. A good baby is one who sleeps a lot, or at least sleeps during colony work periods.

Between three months and about two years the children stay close to the apartment. In winter they are seldom outside; in summer they are outside with their mothers, or more often under the supervision of a school age child whose major responsibility consists of seeing that the baby is not seriously injured and even more important, that the baby is quiet. Eight-year-old boys will race over dangerously rough ground with an eighteen-month-old baby bouncing in a delapidated buggy. No one reprimands the boys. However, if the adult meal is disturbed by a child crying, his caretaker is sharply scolded.

Mothers continue to teach the baby to pray by folding their hands and praying with them before and after feeding them solid food. Children a little over a year old will fold their hands for prayer when they are hungry and see food being carried in. When the child is put into his crib for the night, his parent says the first children's prayer (Appendix D 9) aloud as he is laid down to sleep. This prayer is said aloud to the child even when he is already asleep.

Toilet training begins early, often as early as three months, always by the time the child can sit by himself. Many children do not wear diapers after they are six months old. The baby continues to sleep in a crib in his parents' bedroom and is generally promptly cared for duringthe night by his father.

A child is believed to be completely innocent until he is old enough to hit back; when he hits back or knows what a comb is used for, he is old enough to be disciplined. (A Hutterite sermon on the slaughter of the innocent says that Herod's soldiers knew that if a child hit back he was over two years old and not to be killed.) It used to be said that this happened about the time a child was two years old, but that "now they grow up faster." As soon as the child shows understanding he can be taught to obey. Everyone who passes a baby speaks to him, picks him up, tickles him, plays with him. Children, both boys and girls, crowd around a baby. Adults of both sexes, members of the colony and Hutterite visitors, give the baby cheerful attention. Adults sitting around talking always hold any available baby. A good baby is the one who will go to anybody. However, when it is time for church or for the adult meal or for the baby's nap, he is unceremoniously placed in his crib and his parents walk out. Thus from the time he is seven weeks old, he alternates between being in a socially stimulating environment and being completely alone where his cries go unheard. When a child is old enough to climb out of the crib or does not generally sleep during times his mother must be away, he is either watched by a baby sitter or taken to an apartment where an adult is at home. In some colonies the toddlers are left with the head preacher for he eats his meals in his apartment and therefore can keep an eye on the children while their parents have their breakfast.

Children are not allowed in the kitchen and therefore can rarely be with their mothers when their mothers are working; but often in summer their fathers take them along and let them play around where they are working or talking. Mothers do not seem to be possessive of their little children; rather they are somewhat rejecting. Perhaps this is a maternal defense mechanism in a culture that demands that a mother leave her baby when the colony work bell rings.

Before a child enters kindergarten he is weaned, is toilet trained, and probably can recite at least one prayer. (For first prayer, see Appendix D, 9). Although he is thought of as desirable and lovable, he is punished quickly, impulsively, and frequently. A child of this age may be strapped for refusing to go to someone other than his parents, for refusing to share food, or for being noisy and disturbing adults. He may be slapped for putting garbage in the wrong receptacle, flicked on the head or pinched for getting in the way of someone older than he, either a child or an adult. There is a united effort to wean him away from his parents. Most of the activities that are considered especially gay, such as riding in a wagon or the back of a truck, can be enjoyed only if the toddler will leave his parents to join the fun. However, when in the group of children the little ones are often teased unmercifully and punished for the slightest transgression.

By the time the child is ready to enter kindergarten he has learned, first, to respond positively to every person who comes within sight or earshot. Secondly, he has learned that the colony is more important than any individual. Thirdly, he has learned that the individual has little control over his environment. Punishment is usually physical and is arbitrary, inconsistent, and from the child's point of view, often unpredictable. (This training is consistent with and supportive of the relationship of the adult to the deity). Fourthly, though physical insults are unpredictable, the pattern of living is unchanging and according to the divine order as interpreted by the charter. Always the same thing is done in the same way and at the same time.

During these first three years of life the child has grown from complete dependency on this family to a degree of independence. In the summer he wanders quite freely among the long houses, around the kitchen, and visits the kindergarten. He goes with older children on small expeditions to the fields or garden. He is petted, played with and desired, but is also punished almost at the whim of those older than he. He accepts the fact that there is no escaping the colony schedule and does not complain when handed from one caretaker to another or when his mother leaves for colony work. He is content to be with people.

Kindergarten: three to six years

The change from house child to kindergartener is fairly dramatic. (For Changing Relationship of the Individual to his Colony, Peer Group, and Family, see Figure 27.) The child leaves his nuclear family to spend the greater part of his waking hours with his peer group under the care of an adult who is not his parent. He is not allowed to leave the group to return to his family. If he does, he is punished and his parents calmly send him back.

The kindergarten-aged child is considered willful and useless. "They can't do anything but memorize." The willfulness is somewhat threatening to such a rigidly controlled people and because the uselessness is not combined with complete dependency it cannot be enjoyed by succoring caretakers. The low status of the kindergarten children is reflected by the fact that the poorest food is given to them and that the status of the kindergarten mother is not high. The job is generally given to older women who have no young children at home or to spinsters. Mothers are anxious for their children to reach the age they can send them to the kindergarten and not have to look after them at home. Fathers are glad to have them out from underfoot. One mother said of her kindergarten child, "I'd certainly like Danny less if I had to see any more of him."

The kindergarten schedule varies from one colony to another and from one season to another, but in general the children spend the whole day in the kindergarten. They arrive before breakfast at about seven and stay until 3:30 to 5:30. They are fed breakfast and dinner, take their naps, have a snack, and in some colonies are fed supper before returning home. (Figure 22). The children are taught to pray and to sing hymns by reciting and singing in unison. (For list of memorized material, see Appendix D 7 14.) They are taught to sit still and be quiet and not to fight. Some colonies, especially the Schmiedeleut, have a few playthings for the kindergarten children, but most colonies have no toys for them. This is a conscious decision: "Toys make the children fight." The children learn to find playthings in a meagerly furnished environment. They will play for long periods with a bit of string, a piece of wire or a little box, any of which may be suddenly confiscated by the kindergarten mother and thrown into the stove if it causes dissension or is in her way. (Material objects are temporal and unimportant).

In the kindergarten the child learns to suffer boredom and to use whatever is available in an almost empty environment. Except within very narrow and approved limits, curiosity, experimentation, and spontaneity are inhibited. Being quiet is stressed. One rarely hears a child of kindergarten age or older cry out loud. Even their games are almost noiseless. One five-year-old commented about being strapped in kindergarten: "We're already tough, we don't cry anymore, only Michael does." Michael was three and had just started kindergarten. The kindergartener learns not to distrub important people or important work. He is constantly shoved away by adults, school children, and adolescents. He learns to obey authority, any authority. He learns that the authority is always right and that the individual has almost no protection against it except obedience. His family will not protect him except as he fits into the colony pattern. In other words, his parents reinforce the colony teaching and again demonstrate to the child that the pattern of the colony is more important than his individual desires. Instead of the family being distinct from the colony in the child's mind, there is a growing identity of the family with the colony. The kindergarten child is in an intermediate position between dependence on his family and dependence on the colony. When the kindergarten is not in session, and every weekend, he still eats meals in his home. In the area of discipline there is almost a balance between the parent and the kindergarten mother with the parent perhaps discipling slightly more, at least using more physical discipline. At this age, children are frightened into obeying by various means such as, they will not be allowed to return to their parents if they do not obey; they will be locked in a dark hole under the house. Boundaries are taught by telling them that in the forbidden area there is something dangerous, such as a bee that will sting them, a dog that will bite them, or a bear that will eat them. All colony members use these threats in order to elicit obedience from the young children. (The recurring fears of animals and threatening figures discussed in Chapter 9 may be noted in this connection.) These threats are consistent with colony life, for they teach fear of exclusion and that outside, beyond the boundary, is unpleasantness and danger.

The kindergarten mothers say that kindergarten is mostly to keep the children out of mischief and to enable their mothers to do their colony work. During the kindergarten years a conscious effort is made to break the stubborn will of the child. One kindergarten mother commented as she swatted a young charge for licking his boots, "He's only three years old and still very young and will need many britschen before his will is broken." The ministers say many parents are too gentle. Actually, kindergarten is necessary for the contribution it makes toward weaning the child away from his nuclear family and establishing him for the first time in his peer group. Because he is so young and inept, his peer group gives him little support and instead he feels abandoned. Simultaneously he learns that his family is not a haven from the community but is a part of the community. In a sermon that is preached regularly the parents are reminded that they must guard carefully so that they do not spoil the children. They are told the story of Eli who did not properly punish his own children and "therefore the Lord himself had to deal out the punishment for Eli." "Parents who cater to their children's whims and do not punish them, bring at the end punishment upon themselves." (Admonition to Parents and Children, Appendix D, 6). This sermon teaches the parents to reinforce the community for if they do not the community will punish both the child and the parent. "Many times a father has to punish his own child, either at home in the presence of the teacher or even at the member meeting, for the rod should not be spared." (Gross mss. 1965: 50).

To summarize the position of the kindergarten child in relation to his family: He is still dependent on the family although a considerable amount of his care is taken over by the colony. The child may interpret this as a rejection, especially as it is combined with a lowering of status, greater exclusion from adult gatherings, and a sense of relief on the part of his parents that they can be rid of him for awhile. Children rarely like kindergarten, at least at the beginning; the adults either accept this dislike passively or ignore it.

School children: six to fifteen years

When the child is six years old, he moves from the little school to the big school. The dominant role of the colony over the family is illustrated by the fact that it is the kindergarten mother, not the child's parent, who takes him to the German teacher and hands him over. In a sense the family has already handed over the child to the colony when they gave him to the kindergarten. The child will remain under the care of the German teacher and the German mother until his fifteenth birthday. The child now has all his meals in the children's dining room and only eats snacks at home. The balance between the colony and parent as disciplinarian has changed to favor the German teacher. Children will often obey the German teacher when they ignore the same request from their parents. There is virtually no conflict between the family and the German teacher over the training of the child. The family is supplementary to the colony, and the colony is represented to the children by the German teacher. With the help of the German school mother he teaches the children table manners. They learn to eat with a knife and fork as well as with a spoon. They memorize Medieval "Table Rules" (Appendix D, 14) of how to behave at the table. These rules are very similar both in form (rhymed couplets) and content to those published during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Furnivall 1868). The German mother teaches the girls to clean up the dining room and wash the dishes. The German teacher has the final decision about all the work assignments of the school boys and school girls. When a boss needs a couple of extra boys he asks the German teacher, who assigns them. German school meets before and after English school and during winter vacations. (For Daily Schedule, see Figures 22, 23). Here they are taught "to thank the Lord together," and to read and write German script. They memorize prayers, hymns, Bible stories, the catechism and some episodes from Hutterite history. They also learn the directions of the compass, measurement equivalents, and how to write to ten thousand. In the summer the children remain after breakfast for about half an hour instruction.

When a child enters German school, sex roles are strongly enforced. The little girls must be more careful about the details of their dress. They do not play with boys. A six-year-old girl explained: "Girls don't play with boys." When a group of girls were playing leap frog the first minister picked up a switch and chased them away saying, "Girls don't play like that." In German school and in the dining room the girls and boys sit separately. The girls clean and scrub, the boys never do. After the age of about nine the boys are assigned to help with certain colony jobs. They work either directly under the boss of that job or they may be assigned to an older boy who teaches them the rudiments as he does his colony work. During the school years the girls and to some extent the boys work as baby-sitters. All assigned baby-sitters are between the ages of six and fifteen. These school children are often ambivalent about their charges. They enjoy being able to boss them around and to punish them, but they do not like the work involved. Sometimes one will see a child pretend to hug her charge when she is actually hitting him. They tease the younger ones a great deal and seem to pass on to them the punishment they have received. When there is a conflict the older child is almost always supported against the younger.

The hierarchical pattern of Hutterite culture is constantly reinforced. The older ones care for the younger who in turn must serve and obey the older. There is respect for authority. The English teacher may request that the German teacher punish a certain child and he does so without discussing the offense. When the youngest child in the German school replied to a request of the German teacher with "Why should I?" she was immediately called to the front of the room and given three straps on her hand for talking back.

School age children continue to learn to inhibit any response to pain. They never cry out when they are punished or hurt. Small injuries are ignored by everyone. Their games are often very rough. They play such things as "whistle when it hurts." In other words, games are exercises in discomfort and endurance. They vie with one another to show no physical fear when jumping off high places or pushing one another in front of the tractor. Much of their free play consists of cliques playing together and excluding one another. The play reinforces community values--ignoring any physical discomfort and fear of injury, in other words a minimization of the importance of the body. The changing play groups teach the unpleasantness of being excluded.

The family has given the child to the colony and the colony has delegated almost complete responsibility for the school age children to the German teacher, but they have given him very little freedom as to how he carries out this responsibility. His role is defined by tradition and his work is watched by the council members. Some of the areas in which the colony has taken over the role of the parent are indicated by the fact that one never hears a Hutterite child say to another, "I'll tell your father . . ." but rather "I'll tell Leonard . . ." That is, the German teacher, not the parent, is told when a child transgresses a rule. Similarly, permission to play and the order to work when given by the German teacher take precedence over conflicting orders from the parent. If a child wishes to do something outside the typical pattern, such as go with a truck to visit at a neighboring colony for a few hours, he asks the German teacher for permission, not his parent. The role of the nuclear family is highly significant, however, especailly in the psychological development of the child. Its importance can be seen when one sees the effect on the personality of children who grew up in families in which the father, or even worse, the mother had died. The nuclear family becomes more important in colonies experiencing internal problems. The school child sleeps in his parents' apartment and is dressed in clothes his mother makes for him from material supplied by the colony. When convenient for the colony, he is given work assignments helping members of his family. However, he spends very little time with his parents for he is busy learning his part in the colony and they are busy with their colony work. The children strive to please their parents and to obtain recognition; the parents strive to "raise [their children] in the fear and admonition of the Lord, [and to] get them used to obedience (Admonition . . ., Appendix D, 6). As one Hutterite parent explained, true love is not petting and kissing a child but guiding and directing him. This concern for the child's soul rather than for his happiness or comfort results in parents that are so concerned with the goal they are helping the child to achieve that they have a somewhat limited emotional involvement with the child as he is at the moment. A field worker reported an incident in which a small child almost drowned. The preacher said, "It would have been bad luck, but she surely would have been an angel." Her father commented, "We never know what will happen to them if they grow up. I sure wish I would have died when I was a kid." The goal of life is salvation. This is assured if the child dies young; it is probable if he stays in the colony. The children seem to be emotionally dependent on their parents and to strive, with limited success, for tokens of their parents' love.

During the school years the child has learned to accept many frustrations passively and he has learned in some instances to achieve almost an inversion of the pleasant and unpleasant. He is learning to interpret teasing as attention, to enjoy hard physical labor, to appreciate barrenness and to accept with a kind of pleasure the cleansing process of pain and punishment.

By the time a child graduates from German school he has learned a considerable amount about how to handle authority. He has internalized the Hutterite hierarchy that gives precedence to age, but he has also learned that the authority of each individual is limited. Therefore, he knows when and whom he must obey and what orders can be safely ignored. Thus if the children are disturbing the little pigs and some adult tells them to stop, they are careful to get out of reach but otherwise they pay little attention; if the pig man tells them to "Get away" they leave.

The Hutterite child is believed to have a tendency toward sin and it is the adult or the system that is responsible for protecting the child from this tendency; it is not the child's responsibility. The child must fit into the system; respecting those older than he and caring for those younger, rather than caring for or discipling himself. Thus several unwatched children may get into serious mischief, such as playing with fire in one of the barns; these same children would be completely responsible doing their assigned baby-sitting job, that is caring for a younger child. The children who caused the fire would be punished, but not made to feel guilty in the conventional Protestant pattern. Hutterites know children are sinful and these young ones were acting as is natural for children. Children must be punished, for misbehavior is always punished, and just punishment that is not received in this life will be meted out in the future life. Its purpose is two-fold: to protect the child from future consequences of his sin and to deter him from sinning again.

Salvation is assured for all children if they die during childhood. Therefore the immediate goals for childhood training are firstly, the school age child must be taught obedience; secondly, he must be taught the rules of order (the system) and what is considered sin so that he may know how to behave when he is old enough to accept responsibility for his own actions.

The school aged child has learned the importance of his peer group. He is constantly with the children of his age and sex and the group is treated as a unit. As one Hutterite preacher put it, "The togetherness of the children all the time in the colony trains their mind, conscience, nature, and daily activities as a habitual unit and from this they cannot be separated" (Gross, mss, 1965, 51). For example, when most of the children have worked especially hard digging potatoes, all the children are rewarded by being given a bar of candy. The child learns that how the group as a whole behaves affects him personally and immediately. He also learns that peer group solidarity can protect him. Transgression can go unnoticed if no one reports it. If no one will tell on another often the transgressor is protected, for it generally requires too great an effort to punish every child. Finally, the child learns that his own peer group can punish him even more severely than does adult authority. The rules of the colony can sometimes be circumvented; the rules of the family more often can be ignored; but one cannot ignore one's peers.

The in-between years: fifteen to baptism

On his fifteenth birthday a Hutterite becomes a person. Until this time he is a child unable to properly distinguish right from wrong and thus he cannot be a Christian; he is still under natural law, requiring physical punishment. (For Rites of Passage, see Appendix B). But as a responsible person, he works with the adults and eats bei die Leut, with the people. Even the terms used to refer to a boy or a girl change when they move into the adult dining room (Boy: mandla to buah; girl: dindla to die-en). This change affects all aspects of an individual's life, but it is given almost no ceremonial recognition, for it is something that happens to one person at a time and to recognize it even with a limited colony ceremony would be giving too great an emphasis to the individual. Birthdays too are ignored. In Dariushof the child goes to the German teacher the night before his fifteenth birthday. Those just older than he have been telling the child that he will get whipped for the last time and that it will be a whipping he will remember. The German teacher does not punish the child but exhorts him to be good, to work hard, and to do quickly and pleasantly anything that an older persons asks him to do. The child is given a catechism and several Hutterite books. Exactly which books vary with the sex of the child and from one colony to another. They are distributed in such a way that when a person is married the couple has between them the most frequently used hymn books, a New Testament, and book of Hutterite history. About the time of the fifteenth birthday extra cloth is given to the individual for he now needs different clothes, nicer clothes, and more clothes. Most of the other gifts from the colony symbolize the adult work status that has been achieved; they are useful tools. A boy receives a spade, a pitchfork, a hammer, a saw, and a spoon with his name on it. A girl is given a spinning wheel, a rolling pin, a scrub pail, two paint brushes, a hoe, a small paring knife, a larger butcher knife, and a spoon with her name on it. These spoons are used in Dariushof. They are kept in the kitchen and each person will eat only with his own spoon. Each fifteen-year-old gets a wooden chest with lock on it in which personal belongings can be kept. These various items are not given exactly on the birthday, nor all at once, but gradually as the colony buys them or distributes them they are passed out to the new person. The individual is also given small presents by members of his family: an extra pair of shoes, a hanky, perhaps some gum.

Because they are now physically considered to be adults they work with the adults and learn skills needed in the colony. At the age of seventeen girls begin to bake and cook and boys may be given the responsibility of a tractor. Parenthetically I might add that when a Hutterite says, "That's my tractor," he means that it is the one for which he is responsible. To the Hutterite ownership means responsibility for or use of, not control over. The young people are admitted into the fringes of adult social life. Visitors from other colonies greet them by name and shake their hand when they arrive and when they leave. Adults never shake hands with children.

Those between fifteen and baptism are still under the care of the German teacher for aspects of their moral and social behavior. They attend Sunday school every week where they recite the hymn verses they have memorized and where the German teacher admonishes them. For certain infringements, such as having one's hair cut too short, a boy will have to stand during Sunday school. The young people are under the field boss or the head cook for their work assignments. If their work takes them off the colony they go at the direction of their boss. If they wish to go, but their work does not require it, they can go only with the permission of the German teacher. Because there is some division of authority in the different departments of their life, they have greater freedom than when every aspect was under the direction of the German teacher. HOwever, the family tends to fill this area and assumes greater responsibility than before. The nuclear family has considerable control over their children. A family may insist that one of their children not date specific people or perhaps not date at all. This is their prerogative and if they can enforce it they may. Should a young person be dating someone who is not approved by the colony, such as a first cousin or the English school teacher, then it is the German teacher, as colony representative, rather than the family, who forbids it. By the time an individual is ready to be baptized at the age of 19 to 24, the sex roles have been accepted and internalized. Girls have learned to work only with the women, doing women's work; boys to work only with the men, doing men's work. The young people have learned the patterns of behavior and work that are demanded by the colony sufficiently thoroughly so that they are able to test them by intentionally misbehaving. But even the misbehavior is patterned by the colony and much of it receives tacit colony approval. Misbehaviors include having pictures taken, learning western songs, and among other things, painting toenails red.

After the child has stopped English school (the day before his fifteenth birthday) and simultaneously finished German school, his relationship to his parents changes. They take more interest in the member of the family who is now a person. The son will enter the adult work force where he will work with his father or an older brother if it is convenient for the colony as a whole. The daughter will work with her mother in the kitchen and the garden as well as in the home. Just as visiting adults take more notice of the young person, so the parents now show some concern for their desires and needs. The relationship is still completely hierarchical but now that the German teacher is no longer responsible for virtually all the child's waking hours, the parents concern themselves more with their child's free time. "A wise mother has always an odd job for the idle hands of her daughter." Parents have almost complete veto power over the marriage of their children and they start early to express their interest in this aspect of their children's lives.

The period between the end of school and baptism is sometimes referred to as the in-between period or "foolish years." For these individuals are between childhood and adulthood both emotionally and religiously, even though physically they are considered adults. The question arises as to what happens to the soul of a young adult if he dies before he is baptized. This appears to cause almost no concern among the Hutterites. If the young person is living in the colony (that is, if he is not a "tourist" or a deviant who is outside the colony) there is no question that he will go to heaven. When a nineteen-year-old boy was killed falling off a tractor everyone knew he went to heaven.

Although some disregard of colony mores is institutionalized during the in-between years, there are certain qualities that are expected or at least desired of the young people. The young people must be good workers, and in fact they are responsible about their colony work. As one rather rebellious young man said, "When I work, I work hard and when I play, I play hard." The same twenty-year-old who kept his transistor radio and wrist watch hidden was insistent that he always knew his hymn verses each week and could recite them quickly and correctly. Young girls must not walk far from the colony buildings on summer evenings, and young boys are not supposed to leave the colony grounds. However, these infractions are not as important as being always pleasant and obeying quickly. A good teenager is "always obedient and never talks back."

Hutterite young people say you are old when you become fifteen, but you are really old when you are baptized. At fifteen the person accepts some self-direction, especially in the area of work; at baptism the individual accepts self-direction in religious and social areas.

The peer group becomes even more important during the in-between stage than it was during the school years (Fig. 27). Work is done with one's own sex and much of it is age graded so one also works with one's peer group. After dark the peer group includes both sexes and incorporates visitors from similar peer groups in other colonies. The social life and satisfactions are almost completely within the peer group and supposedly without knowledge of adults. The peer group demands complete loyalty or ostracism.

This is a period of self-realization. During his development the Hutterite is given little opportunity to become a "self" in our sense of the word. But the Hutterites believe that the decision to join the colony must be made voluntarily, in fact pleadingly, by the individual. One must have some measure of self-knowledge in order to renounce self-will. There is a tendency, more pronounced among the girls, to create a "secret world." Sometimes this world is confined to the locked chest; sometimes a corner of the attic is made into a personal microcosm. Here are stored bits of the temporal world, the possession of which give the owner an illusion of freedom. It is more than an illusion. These artifacts represent, however meagerly, what the individual has the freedom to pursue or the freedom to renounce. They represent the world outside the colony; they represent the "self" in its indulgent, vanity-pleasing aspects. As the individual matures and measures these trinkets and indulgences against the full life around him and as he participates more completely in this very real and very busy life, he generally finds the satisfactions received from active participation in the group far outweigh those of self-development. His self-image requires group identification.

Baptism to marriage

Since babyhood the Hutterite has been raised to believe that the collective unit is more important than the separate individuals who make up the group. From the time he was seven weeks old he has learned to fit into a group pattern, and most of the time he has been treated as a member of a group rather than as an individual. He first identified with his nuclear family, then with his peer group in school, and finally with his post-school peer group (Fig. 27). With each stage in growth the number of people above him has decreased and the number below him has increased. He has been taught to serve and obey those above him, to care for and direct those below him. Within his peer group there is some competition but also strong support, especially when there is any threat from the outside. He has already identified with his own peer group. Now when he requests baptism the whole colony becomes in effect his peer group.

From the time he knew what a comb was used for the Hutterite child has been taught to obey. Often obedience seemed to be an end in itself. With untutored insight the Hutterites realize that "when children from little up are used to obey their God-fearing parents then they will have formed a habit of that later on, and it will be a lot easier for them to obey Jesus Christ" (Admonition . . ., Appendix D, 6). The young adult is ready to obey the colony.

Baptism is equated to submission to the church (Rideman 180). "The unconditional surrender in all its form leaves no room for self-will, and the labor or duty of the member is a voluntary offering that is free from all self-desire (Gross mss. 1965: 125). Baptism must be requested by the applicants and they are constantly reminded that it is the most important step in one's life and that once they have consecrated their soul and body to the Lord and His Church they dare not flinch even though it cost them their life. Baptism is an individual commitment, but the ceremony is a group one, including the unison recitation by the candidates of a long baptismal speech. (Baptismal Vow, Appendix D, 15). With baptism the men become voting members of the colony and are often given more responsible work assignments. In Schmiedehof they do not start voting until they grow a beard. This is not associated with baptism although it cannot precede it. Generally the Schmiedeleut young men grow a beard about a week or two after they are married, but in some instances they grow it and begin voting several years before marriage. In Dariushof and Lehrerhof the men vote following baptism. Both the men and women may attend weddings and funerals in other colonies, and soon after baptism it is customary for the young people to go on a fairly long trip visiting different colonies. Baptism is assumed to be the first step leading to marriage, for baptism must precede marriage as one's commitment to God takes precedence over one's commitment to one's spouse. Among the Dariusleut gifts that are given to the newly baptized girl are for her trousseau: forty pounds of feathers with which to make her bedding, the boy receives two feather pillows.

Ideally the baptized member is given a room with a separate entrance adjoining his family. Otherwise he continues to live at home where he is given a room that he shares with a younger sibling. The relationship between the parents and the child becomes closer. With baptism the child becomes a member of the colony and his parents too, treat him as a colony member as well as an offspring. The hierarchical relationship continues, but if the child is a boy he is now a voting member and though his opinion does not count for as much as his father's, his vote does. Through her influence over her grown son, the mother gains more control in the colony. If the child is a daughter the parents are concerned about losing her and her services when she moves out of their home. They continue to exercise control over her dating. In one instance both parents were semi-invalided and they still had young children at home. When I asked about the oldest daughter who was healthy and attractive but not married at twenty-eight, her cousin said, "Her parents will never allow her to marry; they need her to take care of them."

Ideally the time between baptism and marriage is not long, especially for a young man. It is said that an unmarried man is like a garden that has no fence. He needs a wife and family to protect him. Defection is less likely to occur after marriage. Often a young person is not baptized until he is contemplating marriage. If a young girl is seriously interested in a young man, she may be persuaded to wait to be baptized and this has the effect of postponing her marriage, usually for about a two-year period, for baptisms rarely take place oftener than every two or three years. There are a few Hutterites who do not marry. Generally they are individuals who by some accident are not as physically strong or healthy as most. Such men rarely achieve high leadership positions although the women are sometimes assigned as head cook or more often as kindergarten teachers. The group who are baptized, but remain unmarried is very small.

Marriage: the achievement of full membership

The romantic concept of marriage has had little effect on the Hutterites. Couples are not supposed to come together through their own actions and choice but in accordance with God's will and order (Rideman 97-98). They are not to choose by the desire of the flesh but are to ask the elders (Ibid. 100). They must have the counsel of their parents and of the elders of the whole congregation (For Marriage Vows and procedures, see Appendix D, 17). As regards marriage, there is no coming of age. A Hutterite may never marry without the consent of his parents and colony. Although technically anyone more distantly related than first cousins may marry, marriage rarely takes place between the three different branches of Hutterites and even with a branch certain colonies tend to exchange partners. Most couples (Schmiedeleut) are a little more closely related than second cousins (Mange 1964: 117). One young Hutterite father tried to explain to me that it did not really matter whom you married for your families always knew each other and you were always relatives anyway. There is often considerable colony as well as family suggestion as to suitable marriage partners. A Hutterite woman said of a young brother-in-law, "I told him to take Mary's sister, she is a nice girl, pretty, and a good worker." He said she was his first choice but she wouldn't date him. "I know she's sorry now that he's going to marry someone else." A minister told me, "We try to match them so that if one is hard, the other is soft, so if one is loud, the other is quiet, this way they don't rub together so hard." His older sons did seem to be so matched. Most Hutterites marry whom they wish and achieve some measure of self-decision by being secretive about their dating and their plans. One bride wrote, "_______ and I were engaged from May till October but nobody knew except our family and I wanted it to be kept quiet, although I was in conflict with myself all summer. God still answered my prayers, there was another guy who wanted to marry me but my heart said different, everybody else thought he was more my choice." The boy she married she had known for five years, but she had only seen him about four times and had never visited his colony.

There is a different attitude toward the marriage of a son than a daughter. Because the daughter usually has to move away and, as the girls say, the colony does not want to lose any girl power, there is an effort to postpone as long as possible a daughter's marriage. On the other hand it is believed that a person settles down when he marries and so there is often considerable pressure put on a young man to get married. This is particularly true in a small colony for boss jobs are not given to unmarried men and more responsible men may be needed for economic efficiency. Also the young man's wife will contribute her labor to the colony. Theoretically any position in the colony, appropriate to one's sex, may be held after marriage. Within the group of married men important leadership positions are achieved. These are assigned on the basis of ability and aptitude rather than being strictly age graded. Therefore there may be considerable quiet competition within this group. The wives, who have usually come from other colonies, support their husbands, for a rise in the husband's status also enhances the wife's status. When there is conflict within a colony, lines tend to be drawn along family lines with one set of brothers and an older parent in one camp, one or two sets of brothers in the other camp. The role of wives may be crucial in holding a colony together. Often several sibships will exchange marriage partners so that three sisters, for instance, may be married to three brothers. These sisters will themselves act as a sub-unit and may somewhat weaken the exclusive control of their husbands' extended family, which is still under the direction of the husband's parents. Also sisters may be married into the "other" extended family and wives may have been taken from the "other" extended family. These marriages function to tie the two extended families together and to prevent too great polarization under the elderly parents. Voting is not supposed to be influenced by relationship, but siblings are used to working for one another and together, and if the colony is not of one mind the division is generally by extended families. However, when a man votes he is not just voting for himself, but he is also representing his mother and his wife who have no vote. These three influences often balance one another in such a way that the colony is strengthened and the nuclear families, both of orientation and of procreation, continue to be secondary.

When a colony has grown large enough to branch out and the membership must be divided between the two ministers, the division again tends to be along family lines, for each family head decided with which minister his nuclear family will affiliate. The Hutterite family has no freedom of motion as does the typical American family. The newlyweds are assigned a room; when their family increases, they get more room; when the colony branches, the husband elects which minister they will follow; and again they are assigned a home.

Hutterite marriages are good and even happy. There are few areas of disagreement. Use of money, kind and amount of clothing acquired, preparation and time of meals, and the education of the children, things thare often sources of disagreement in American families, do not require any decision among the Hutterites. In addition, there are many areas of mutual aid. Many of the wife's rotating jobs require help from her husband. The day she mixes dough for the buns, he gets up at 3:30 in the morning to lift the dough for her. When it is her week to milk, he gets up half an hour ahead of her and goes to the milk house to lift the heavy milk pails. When his wife cooks, he sweeps the kitchen floor for her. In turn there are certain women's jobs that are outgrowths of the husband's assignment. In Dariushof the German school mother is the wife of the German school teacher. The head cook among the colonies tends to be the wife or the mother of the first preacher or the boss. The milkmaid and diet cook is the wife of the cow man. Marriage is a permanent relationship. Children grow up, marry and may be separated when the colony branches, but only death or a major religious transgression can separate man and wife. There is no divorce. The man is believed to be the example, leader and caretaker of the woman who follows him in weakness, humility, and submission. She is to obey him in "all right and godly things," but "if it should happen that one or the other from the congregation should suffer shipwreck of his faith" then the husband must not desire that his wife follow him "from the right to the wrong and leave behind the community and the church." (Appendix D, 16). Obedience to the colony outweighs obedience to one's spouse. (Ridemann 1950: 101, 149).

One of the most positive aspects of Hutterite marriage is that it is one of the few aspects of life that involves one individual relating to another as an individual and not primarily as a member of a group. This is satisfying and rewarding. However, by twentieth-century American standards, even the relationship between husband and wife is institutionalized and lacks spontaneity. And even within the family there may be some evidence of the opposition of the men's culture to the women's culture that is characteristic of colony life. A person simultaneously belongs to his family of orientation, his family of procreation, and his colony. Usually these three groups support one another, but when a hierarchy is established, the colony ranks highest, then the family of orientation, and finally the family of procreation. (These relationships are shown in Figure 27.) Only the family with married sons has full status and even here absolute unity is prevented by the role of the wives and the organization of the colony.

Hutterite parents enjoy their babies. They are somewhat threatened by their large families of children who require so much energy to care for and so much worry to raise. They fear for their children's salvation and get little joy from their childish achievements, for their major struggle is to turn the child from self-will to obedience. After their children are baptized the parents can again enjoy them and a parent-child relationship is maintained until senility or death of the parent terminates it.

The Hutterite nuclear family of the parents and their young children does not really form a social unit. Rather they form one essential aspect of an indivisible unit--the colony. Because the Hutterite colony functions in many ways as a family and because Hutterite society has institutionalized a continuing relationship between parents and children, the nuclear family is less sharply delineated and is emotionally less demanding and exclusive.

Self and society co-extensive

What is the role and function of the family in a society in which the individual identifies so closely with his group that he uses "I" when we would use "we"? The intrinsic value of individualism and the correlated value of private life is axiomatically assumed in North American society. The theologian, the sociologist, the politician, and the man-in-the-street all start with this premise. In other words, it is believed to be the right of the individual (owing to his essential nature), to have social freedom in which to develop himself, in which to develop his own potentials. Most twentieth century Americans believe that in the long run society is best served by the maximum development of all outstandingly intelligent individuals. This belief involves a concept both of the individual and of society that is by no means universal, either geographically or historically. We, in the language of modern English, conceive of "self" as something extremely personal and with definite limits; it does not even include our own physical body. The "self" is conceived as being able to control this dependent body and to some extent to control the world around it. To illustrate, we say "I bumped my head." The concept of self is involved in "I"; "my head" is already somewhat outside this concept. We do not say "I bumped the head-part of myself." The belief that the self has control over the body is indicated by the phrasing "I bumped my head" rather than "my head was bumped" even though I did not intentionally bump my head.

There is a tendency in modern society to equate freedom with control. Even our language reflects a trend towards a more aggressive, assertive concept of self. Shakespeare wrote at the time the Hutterites were becoming institutionalized. He used phrases such as "It yearns me . . ." where today we would say "I yearn" or "I long to . . . ." In the phraseology of Shakespeare's time the individual is somewhat passively responding to forces outside himself; in modern phraseology the individual grasps control of the activity.

The assertiveness of the self as used in modern English is further illustrated by the contrast with Turkish. We say "I have a jacket," while a Turk would say, "Bir caketim var" which would be literally translated "One jacket, related to me by ownership, exists." Instead of "I" being the subject of the sentence, jacket is the subject. Instead of "self" doing the acting, that is possessing the jacket, the jacket exists in a specified relationship. In the European pattern of thought the individual is the actor possessing an object; in the non-European language, an object exists related to the individual. From analyzing only this one sentence one might hazard a guess that a Turkish-speaking person would have a somewhat different self-image from an English speaking person.

The exclusive character of the word "self" implied by our language tends toward an opposition of self to non-self. Thus it is to be expected that self, or the individual, is in some ways opposed to society. Many cultures do not recognize such a dichotomy. Wintu Indians of Northern California, for example, do not have an exclusive concept of self and therefore do not oppose the individual to society, but rather it is self in society and not self and society (Dorothy Lee 1959: 132). The Dakota Indians in the 1870's strove not for self-expression or self-development but to achieve the experience of relatedness to all things; "to make the four-leggeds, the wingeds, the star peoples of the heavens and all things as relatives" (Ibid. 63). For the Dakota Indians self and society were co-extensive.

In a very different way the Hutterites too strive, not for universal relatedness, but to make the self and the society co-extensive. And they have succeeded in that one cannot remain a Hutterite outside a Hutterite colony and the ideal Hutterite self-image demands identification with the colony. When speaking to an outsider a Hutterite may express this identification by his use of the pronoun "I." He may use it in the typical sense referring only to himself, but he may also use it when he refers to the action of a group of which he was a part, and occasionally he will use the pronoun "I" referring to the action of a group with which he identifies although he did not happen to be there when the action took place. This is not done to enhance the subject in the eyes of the outsider, but rather it reflects the intimate identification of the individual with his society. Individual freedom is not valued by the Hutterite; in fact it is feared, for they believe man to be inherently evil with a tendency toward sin, and if the individual at any age is given unlimited freedom and is not guided by fellow Christians and taught to be obedient to God, he will succumb to his animal nature. Freedom to indulge self is voluntarily exchanged for selfless identification with society. The individual has renounced freedom to wander in favor of the "narrow path" that leads to salvation. He has a temporal goal, that his colony be successful; a personal goal, that he achieve heaven; and a social goal, that through his preservation of the ark (the colony) other souls may also reach heaven.

CHAPTER 9. ASPECTS OF ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY

In order to discover some of the psychological dimensions of adolescent personality, thirty-six colonies were visited in South Dakota and Manitoba. (See Kleinsasser 1965: Appendix A, 6). This experience provided a knowledge of the general features of the total culture as well as a sample and control group for testing certain aspects of personality. The findings are reported in this chapter.

Behavior is transactional in nature. The person does not behave in a vacuum but his behavior is the resultant of a transaction between the individual and other structural units that can be collectively referred to as his environment. The environment consists of personnel, institutions, situations, tasks, rewards, and penalties as well as other factors that have physical and biological significance. For assessment purposes the major task becomes that of beginning with the picture of greatest general validity and then reducing the detail and complexity to manageable proportions.

The specific instruments chosen were of the open-end variety for the following purposes: 1) the intention was to provide descriptive data in addition to what we already had in depth from the sample colonies. To this end, certain ecological goals were recognized. 2) the intention was to utilize tests that were related to observational data. Items were chosen to test certain general hypotheses concerning the differences between Hutterite adolescents and a control group chosen from the dominant rural American culture.

The test battery consisted of four parts (see Appendix A, 4). Part one was designed to elicit descriptive personal data. Part two contained seventeen sentence stems. In part three were six open ended questions intended to tap fears, wishes, and aspirations. Some of these items were adapted from Jersild, Markey, and Jersild (1933). The final part was designed to elicit self-concept data. A more specific descriptive statement concerning each instrument and the manner in which it was employed will be found under the appropriate headings in the remainder of this paper.

The samples

Through the cooperation of the County Superintendents of Schools channels were established whereby paper-and-pencil tests could be administered to Hutterite children as a part of their regular school activities. The test instrument was sent to all superintendents where there were Hutterite schools in the state of South Dakota and the sample consisted of all the returned tests. Seventy subjects made up the final experimental group.

The control group was comprised of one hundred children taken from four consolidated schools in the same geographical area in which the colonies were located. All four schools were located in agrarian areas of South Dakota. In this manner it was hoped that geographical and rural-urban factors could be controlled to a reasonable extent. The samples were limited to seventh and eighth grade children, since Hutterite children do not receive high school training and older adolescents were not available through the school system.

The mean age of the Hutterite pupils was 13.19 and the mean age for the control group 12.89. Of the 70 Hutterite pupils, 42 were in grade seven and 28 in grade eight. Of the pupils in the control group 57 were in grade seven and 43 in grade eight.

The results of the tests are discussed in the following order:

- Sentence Completion Technique
  - Attitudes Toward Parents
  - Mode of Punishment and Punitive Figure
- Wishes, Aspirations, and Fears
  - Aspirations and Ideal Age
  - Wishes
  - Fears
- Self-Concept
- Summary

Sentence completion technique

The Sentence Completion Test is not new to the psychologist. As early as 1892 Ebbinghous used incomplete sentences to test intelligence. In a partial review of the cross-cultural literature, Duijker and Frijda (1960), point out that the Sentence Completion Technique has not yet been frequently used in cross-cultural research. They go on to posit that its value here and in other fields of character and personality studies may nevertheless be regarded as proved, and is important in tapping attitudes and values of high personal involvement.

A Sentence Completion Test consists of a number of incomplete sentences or stems that are presented to the subject. In this investigation, seventeen sentence stems were presented with the following instructions:

> "Here are some sentences that are not complete. Complete the sentence with the first thing that comes to your mind. Please try to complete the sentence with a whole thought rather than just one word."

The responses to the Sentence Completion Test were considered as reflecting conscious attitudes and values rather than more covert or unconscious dynamics or personality.

Some sentence completion stems were chosen to explore hypotheses concerning Hutterite pre-adolescents that have arisen through field observation. Other stems were included for purposes of providing further descriptive data in addition to that obtained in field observation. The test is rarely treated quantitatively; however, when observational data were used as a basis for generating general hypotheses, an effort was made to group responses into categories that could be compared by means of suitable statistical procedures. Under the sub-headings that follow are found the analyses that pertain to a portion of the total seventeen sentences. A part of the remaining sentences were included only for descriptive purposes. Others are excluded from the analysis.

Attitudes toward parents

Included in the series of sentence completion items that were employed in this investigation were two sentences designed to elicit responses indicating attitudes toward parents. The two sentences designed to evoke such responses were, "My father ______," and "My mother ______." The procedure for evaluating responses to these sentence stems was very similar to that utilized in an investigation by Harris and Tseng (1957).

The sentence completion items in the present investigation were scored in terms of positive, negative, or neutral affect that was evidenced in the response. This method does not make the "projective" assumptions that are sometimes made in a clinical setting. The completions were treated as an expression of affect from which was inferred positive, negative, or neutral attitudes.

A guide list of possible responses was employed in evaluating the sentence completions. A positive response could be given to both items; examples are "My father is the best," "My mother is nice." In contrast, negative responses could be given to both items; examples are "My father never tries to understand me," "My mother is always angry." A response was classified as neutral if it did not manifest either the positive or negative affect as seen in the previous responses. Most responses falling in this category were descriptive completions such as "My father is a farmer," or "My mother bakes bread."

A child could also give a positive completion to a sentence stem relating to one parent and subsequently give a negative response to the stem relating to the other parent. Hence, for each child there were nine possible ways in which the sentences could be completed. To aid in conceptualizing the possible responses and combinations of responses, the nine possible responses were schematized as follows:

		Mother		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
Father	Positive			
	Neutral			
	Negative			

Field observations indicate that the Hutterite culture places negative sanctions on overt affective expression. On the basis of these field observations, it was predicted that Hutterite children would provide less affective responses than the control subjects and that a greater preponderance of their responses would be neutral. Since the female sex is recognized as being weak willed it was further expected that this difference would be greatest among males.

By converting the frequencies, related to a particular affective classification, to percentages, the attitudes toward parents can be graphically represented in a meaningful manner.

Hutterite males, when compared with control males, tend to give more neutral responses than positive affective responses toward their parents. This difference, however, did not reach significance by the chi-square test.

Females of the Hutterite and control groups in this investigation also manifest very similar attitudes toward both parents.

The attitudes of Hutterite males and Hutterite femals are graphically represented in Figure 28. Plotted here are percentages of responses favorable, neutral, and negative toward either parent. A chi-square analysis (one-tailed) indicates that significant differential attitudes towards parents are held by Hutterite males when compared with Hutterite females ($X^2 = 4.55$, $P < .05$). Hutterite females tend to think more positively about both parents than do the Hutterite males. The males tend to hold more neutral attitudes toward both parents. The greatest male-female differences are evidenced in attitudes held towards the mother. Hutterite females gave nearly twice as many positive responses in relation to their mother when compared with Hutterite males. Negative responses were so few in number that they were not included in the analyses.

Mode of punishment and the punitive figure

As a part of the sentence completion test, each subject responded to the question, "Because Katy / Dick was bad she / he was punished by _____." This sentence stem was constructed so as to elicit punitive figure responses.

As seen in Table 6, the punitive figures mentioned by the subjects were converted to categories for classification of responses. On this basis, "Father," "Mother," "Teacher," "Elder," and "Civil Authorities" became categories pertaining to the punitive figure. In tabulating the data, however, we discovered that our sentence stem provided two degrees of freedom in terms of response rather than one. Some subjects completed the sentence by referring to a specific way in which they were punished rather than with a punitive figure. Hence we were forced to establish an additional category which was termed "Mode of Punishment." A "Non-classifiable" category was included in order to provide a means of categorizing blanks and responses indicating confusion concerning the task.

The responses were analyzed in two ways. First, responses were dichotomously categorized by placing the responses of each subject in one of two categories. Those responses that did not fit either of the two categories were dropped from the analysis as non-classifiable. One category was labeled "Punitive Figure." This category was constructed by collapsing all the responses seen in Table 6. The second category utilized was "Form of Punishment" and consisted of those responses indicating some form of discipline such as a spanking, (having to stay in one's room, or being grounded, a frequent response of the control subjects). The results of this categorization can be seen in Table 7.

Hutterite children tend to respond infrequently with form of punishment responses and in contrast, give punitive figure responses with great frequency. Non-Hutterite children, on the other hand, tend to respond in terms of the form of punishment rather than the punitive figure.

This difference in response is interesting in light of the literature in the area of moral development. Hoffman and Saltzstein (1964), conducted a study in which children were asked to make moral judgments about norm violations committed under different conditions and give reasons for their responses. The responses were judged as expressing either internalized standards or fear of detection by external authorities. The authors found that subjects who evidenced internal controls and indicated more guilt after transgression tended to be less preoccupied with detection.

Our field observations indicate that Hutterite children are primarily controlled through surveillance rather than through internalization of standards. Hence, the behavior of Hutterite children seems to be contingent on surveillance by an authority figure. In responding to the sentence completion item, Hutterite children were more preoccupied with detection than non-Hutterite children. Also, in relation to the findings of Hoffman and Saltzstein, Hutterite pre-adolescents seem to conform to their description of non-internalized individuals with respect to moral standards.

The second method of analysis was that originally planned with respect to this sentence stem. This analysis pertains only to those responses that were categorized as punitive figure responses. As indicated in Table 7, Hutterite children gave fifty-seven such responses. Our initial question can now be evaluated, namely, "Was there differential selectivity of a punitive figure?" This evaluation is made with some reservation since it is done on the basis of the low total percentage of "Punitive Figure" responses by the control subjects.

A breakdown of this punitive figure responses in frequencies and percentages of occurrence (Table 8) indicates that there is little difference between the responses of Hutterite children and non-Hutterite children. A chi-square test did not yield significant differences.

These data shed interesting light on the hypotheses that have been generated through field observations. The first hypothesis that the father is viewed by Hutterite children as a primary punitive figure, receives support from these data. The control group, however, also chose the father with almost equal frequency. This does not negate the hypothesis that the Hutterite father is the punitive figure of prominence; on the contrary, it seems to indicate that the rural sample from which the control sample was drawn is also one in which the father plays an important punitive role.

One of the more curious aspects of these data concerns the role of the teacher. Considering the punitive role of many Hutterite German teachers, where rule is enforced through the free use of a leather belt, it is interesting to note that even though he is ranked second, he is not as salient in the children's minds, as a punitive figure, as one might expect. Since instructions read to all subjects included a statement indicating that the tests would not be evaluated by the teacher, it seems inappropriate to explain these results in terms of fear of censure.

The fact that elders are not considered by the control group as surveillant authorities is evident in these data. Even though some Hutterite children gave such responses, these data do not warrant assigning the elder a prominent position in the cognitions of Hutterite adolescents with regard to a punitive figure.

Aspirations

Wishes, aspirations, and fears: In this investigation the term "aspiration" is used to refer to specific or generalized individuals that the respondent aspires to be like, the person he would like to emulate. As was stated with respect to wishes, such aspirations should reflect the kind of people that are highly valued by the culture of which the individual is a part. Or, as the findings of Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963), would suggest, such aspirations should reflect the individuals that control the cultures resources. Children should identify with individuals of "power" in the society.

One of the items utilized in this investigation was adapted from the early study of Jersild, Markey, and Jersild (1933): "If you could be changed and be different from what you are, how would you want to be changed? What would you want to be like?"

First, it was predicted that members of the control group would tend to identify with glamorous adults more frequently than would Hutterite subjects.

Secondly, it was believed that Hutterite youngsters would tend to identify more frequently with religious and Biblical characters.

Third, on the basis of the dream materials, it was predicted that Hutterite children would identify more frequently with animals when compared with control subjects.

Finally, since Hutterites give evidence of being extremely resistant to change and are tradition bound, it was felt that the question would elicit defensive responses from Hutterite subjects more frequently than from control subjects. Hence, a category was included for responses indicating the desire to remain and not be changed in any way. This category was labeled Status Quo.

The percentage of category usage for the Hutterite sample and the control sample is shown in Table 9. Predicted differences between groups were evaluated by means of a one-tailed chi-square and remaining pairs of categories were evaluated with a two-tailed test. The chi-square test used included a correction factor for continuity (Siegel, 1951).

Glamorous Adult: These data support the hypothesis that Hutterite children are less likely to identify with glamorous adults as individuals they aspire to.

Status Quo: Hutterite subjects indicated more resistance to the suggested idea of possible change than the control group. This difference had been predicted on the basis of observations that social change is a slow process in the Hutterite culture. These data give evidence for assuming that resistance to change is instilled early in the socialization of Hutterite children.

Animal: Hutterite youngsters tend to identify more frequently, in their aspirations, to animals than do control subjects. Animals play an interesting role in the Hutterite culture. An investigation with regard to dream content produced evidence that aggressive animals are very much feared by Hutterite children. The predominance of animals as threatening figures may reflect two aspects of Hutterite culture. First, parents often utilize threats involving animals as a coercive measure. Comments such as, "A wolf will get you!" are not uncommon. This may be a kind of vicarious danger. Secondly, animals are often equated Biblically with instinctual and the "id" impulses of man as was true of the snake in the Genesis account of the Garden of Eden. Hence, the threat of animal attack carries with it not only a threat of physical attack but also the threat of being devoured by earthly "lusts of the flesh."

A qualitative analysis of the responses indicated that Hutterite males not only identified frequently with animals but in many instances saw this identification in an aggressive context. For an example, one subject reported that he would like to be a horse so that he could kick people. In a folk culture in which there are strong sanctions limiting aggressive behavior, this kind of projective device affords a means of expressing hostility. This notion, coupled with the findings that Hutterites frequently fear strange animals and strange people, bears an interesting relationship to the findings of Whiting and Child (1953). In studying a great many different cultures, they indicated that such fears appeared to be associated with anxiety about aggression. These authors go on to make the following statement: "We showed that this result could be an outcome either of the mechanism of projection or the mechanism of displacement." Considering the observational evidence along with the evidence presented in this investigation it seems quite likely that a similar phenomena is taking place to that described by Whiting and Child: Hutterite males find a means of expressing aggressive feelings through identification with aggressive animals.

Composite or Imaginary Characters: The very significant difference in the utilization of this category was not predicted; however, post hoc consideration of this difference leads one to suspect that Status Quo might be the other face of the coin. In other words, where Hutterites tend to resist change, control subjects often think in terms of personal improvement or express the desire to be changed in some manner (e.g. "be taller," "smarter," "stronger," or "more beautiful").

For the purpose of adding further descriptive data with regard to aspirations, all subjects were asked "If you could be just as old as you wanted to be, how old would you like to be?" Table 10 provides the frequency and percentage distribution of responses to this query and the mean ideal-age chosen by each group. The category, Status Quo, was added to include such responses as "I want to be just as I am," or "I wouldn't want to change." Rather than interpreting this kind of response as indicating the actual age of the subject, it was felt that the qualitative difference or resistance in such a response merited a unique category.

The difference in the choice of an ideal age is not impressive. Both societies seem to place values on being between the ages of sixteen and twenty. As was stated in the preceding section on aspirations, it was expected that Hutterite subjects would resist the suggestion to change to a greater extent than would control subjects. When the responses to this query categorized as Status Quo are compared with all the other responses collapsed into a non-Status Quo category, Hutterite subjects chose to utilize this resistant category significantly more than did the control subjects ($X^2 = 2.17$, $P < .05$).

Wishes

The stimulus sentence employed for eliciting wish responses was a prototype of the early Jersild stimulus (Jersild, Markey, and Jersild, 1933). The sentence, "If you had a wish and your wish could come true, what would you wish?" was employed to add some descriptive data to our observational data; no predictions were made in advance of the analysis.

The original Jersild study employed twenty-two categories. In this investigation, Jersild's original categories were modified by combining those that seemed to overlap, dropping some due to lack of category usage, and the addition of those that the data seemed to demand. The categories employed are indicated in Table 11.

Category utilization was compared in two ways. Male and female responses were compared within the Hutterite sample and a between sample comparison was made between the Hutterite and the control samples. A chi-square analysis was performed to evaluate significant differences of category usage.

The comparison made within the Hutterite sample between male and female sub-samples is shown in Table 11. The single significant difference in category usage with respect to wishes occurred in the Wealth & Possessions category. Hutterite males gave significantly more responses relating to this category than did females.

A second comparison was made between the total Hutterite sample and the control sample with respect to category utilization. The results of this comparison can be seen in Table 12. Significant differences did not appear between groups with great frequency as is indicated in Table 12. The differences that did occur, however, are rather curious.

Wealth and Possession: Hutterite children tended to wish for wealth and material possession more frequently than did the control subjects. Even though this difference did not reach the critical level, the difference that did occur bears mention ($X^2 = 2.96, P < .10$). Initially, Jersild's two categories were utilized, one category being Wealth and/or Money and the other being Material Possessions. These two were combined due to considerable difficulty in differentiating responses with respect to the categories. Before collapsing the two previously mentioned sub-categories, however, it was noted that the Hutterites utilized the sub-category of Wealth and/or Money with much greater frequency than did the control subjects ($X^2 = 9.95$ $P < .01$).

Benefits to Parents and Relatives: Hutterite youngsters did not think in terms of general or specific benefits for their parents. The control subjects differed significantly in their utilization of this category.

Philanthropic: Somewhat related to the above finding, control subjects also chose to think in terms of the general welfare of others with much greater frequency than did Hutterite subjects.

Fears

The stimulus sentence for eliciting fear responses was again taken from the early work of Jersild (Jersild, Markey, and Jersild, 1933). Responses to the sentence, "What are some things that scare you, things that make you afraid?" were then categorized to provide a basis for comparison.

An analysis of fear responses was carried out in two ways. First, male-female comparisons were made within the Hutterite sample to explore indications of differential fear responses. Secondly, a between-group comparison was made to determine differences in category utilization with respect to Hutterite and control subjects. These comparisons were made by means of a chi-square analysis (two-tailed) and the calculating formula provided a correction for continuity (Siegel, 1956).

A chi-square analysis revealed, with respect to differential category usage by Hutterite males and females, that there were no statistically significant differences. Hutterite males tended to see more animals as mediators of threat and Hutterite females tended to see more people as such mediators; however, the differences did not reach critical significance.

A comparison was made between the total Hutterite and control samples. The results of this comparison can be seen in Table 13. Hutterite subjects showed much more fear of animals than they did of people. The reverse was true for the control group.

Table 14 indicates a comparison of "fears" and "worst happenings" as reported by all Hutterite subjects. A chi-square analysis was made to determine whether significant differences existed between reported fears and the phenomena referred to as "worst happenings."

Animals: As has been evidenced in the findings with respect to other instruments in this investigation, Hutterite children frequently tend to see animals as mediators of threat. These data corroborate the previous findings (e.g. sentence completion and the analysis of dream content). Hutterite subjects, when asked what made them afraid, chose animals with a frequency equal to all other categories combined, significantly more than did control subjects. The children were also asked to list the worst thing that had happened to them. The findings summarized in Table 14 indicate that some Hutterite fears are not commensurate with the actual occurrence of the threatening phenomena. The high frequency with which animals are reported as mediators of threat far surpasses the frequency with which animals are actually encountered in "worst happenings."

Other Persons: In contrast to the above findings, control subjects tended to see other people as predominant mediators of threat. Most prevalent among the sub-categories utilized by the controls were responses falling in the Teacher, Opposite Sex, and Other People categories. Control subjects frequently mentioned fears related to performing before aggregates of people which was responsible for amplifying the Other People category.

Barker and Wright (1954), in an ecological investigation of the Midwest, found the Pa/Pe (Performance-Performer) ratio to be higher in the Midwest than in larger urban centers. More experience in a greater variety of behavior settings provides contact with many people in the community. This phenomenon is writ large in the communal society. Experiences outside the community are severely restricted; however, the child is free to penetrate many, and perhaps most, of the settings within the community. There are few individuals in the communal whom the child does not know. Also, with the great stress on order, people's behavior in the strong tradition-bound communal society is predictable. This, then, may provide an explanation for the significantly greater frequency of Other Persons as mediators of threat in the control group when compared with children from the communal. The control subjects' immediate environment contains more unpredictable and, as a result, more threatening people than are found in the communal society.

Supernatural and Unpredictable: These categories are discussed together since the Supernatural category seemed to be an animistic form of the Unpredictable category. Control subjects frequently expressed a fear of the unpredictable and the unexplainable such as unexplainable noises, weird movements, and lights. Hutterites, on the other hand, spoke very infrequently about such pheonomena but tended toward animistic explanations of strange noises and movements. Hence they spoke of ghosts or other strange beings as causes of such phenomenon. Even though both groups seemed to be describing the same general class of stimulus properties, the Hutterite subjects endowed the unexplainable phenomena with some sort of life; they tended to find animistic, causal explanations and these then became the focal point of their fears. When comparing Hutterite "fears" with "worst happenings" the expressed fear of natural and supernatural phenomena do not seem to have actual referrants in "real life."

Injury, Illness, and Death: Hutterites rarely indicated fear of threats to their biological integrity. In contrast, significantly more control subjects expressed apprehension with regard to bodily injury and disease. The data presented in Table 14, however, indicate that a great many instances occur in which such threats take place in the life of these Hutterite subjects. This category, with regard to "worst happenings," was used more than all other categories combined. Even though frequently exposed to such danger, it does not seem to be salient as a perceived threat by Hutterite youngsters. The culture minimizes the threat of death and bodily injury.

The Self-Concept

The Self-Concept very simply may be thought of as a person's perceptions of who he is. The primary interest in this investigation is in the transactional relationship that exists between the Hutterite Self-Concept and socialization within the Hutterite culture. Sarbin (1954), echoing Margaret Mead's viewpoint, stresses along with other role theorists, that the self arises out of social interaction. Hallowell (1954), posits that cultural and social interaction have an important role in the constitution of the self-image as do normative orientations of the culture. In this portion of the investigation we see the subject not only telling us about himself but also his culture and something about the body of institutionalized regulations, long established, that are an intimate part of it.

The instrument utilized in this investigation was the W-A-Y (Who are you?") that is presently being further developed by Bugental (1950, 1955, and 1964). The responses to the question are tallied in one of the twelve content categories. The frequencies of category usage were compared for the Hutterite and control samples by means of a chi-square analysis in which was incorporated a correction for continuity (Siegel, 1956). One-tailed tests were used in an evaluation of differences between categories in instances when the direction was predicted, two-tailed tests were utilized in all other instances. Table 15 shows the results of these analyses.

Age: Hutterite subjects tended to respond within the age category significantly more than did control subjects. This supports the findings of the observed socialization pattern that age (within sex) is the single most important determinant of an individual's placement in the colony heirarchy.

Occupation: The hypothesis that industrious activity is more salient in the Hutterite Self-Concept was supported by these data. Hutterite youngsters, in comparison to control subjects, chose to define themselves more frequently in terms of work responsibilities than they had been given by the colony. The fact that this component of the Hutterites adolescent's Self-Concept is so strong is interesting since the subjects in this investigation had not as yet attained the age of fifteen when Hutterites assume adult work responsibility. The strong occupational component seems to indicate the careful measures taken by the communal in its socialization process to make this prominent in the child's Self-Concept.

Group Membership: Hutterite subjects responded in the predicted manner with respect to this category. In contrast to control subjects, Hutterite adolescents more frequently chose this essentially non-individualized mode of identifying themselves, a response category which tends to deny the uniqueness of the respondent.

The investigator felt that this category would possibly be inflated by frequent "I am a Hutterite" responses due to the expected salience that this concept would be expected to have for Hutterites. In order to provide a means of evaluating this possibility, the investigator dichotomized the "Group Membership" category into two sub-categories of Religious Affiliation and General Group Membership. Contrary to this previously stated possibility, however, the greatest difference existed between groups with respect to the "General" category. Hutterite subjects tended to give more responses indicating general group membership such as, "I am a South Dakotan," "I am an American," or "I live in Canada." The importance of these findings are accentuated by Bugental's (1950) normative data. His findings indicated that this category appeared much less frequently among younger persons in his samples than among adults. Thus, the non-individualized component in the Hutterite Self-Concept appears to be robust and more pervasive than merely being a function of affirming Hutterite membership.

Personal Description: It was hypothesized that Hutterite subjects would provide fewer responses indicating positive or negative affect than would control subjects. These data indicate that the differences in affective expression were significant in the predicted direction.

Differences were not predicted for the remaining two sub-categories of Personal Description. A two-tailed chi-square analysis, however, revealed that control subjects chose to respond within the General Personal Description category with a frequency that was significantly greater than that of the Hutterite subjects.

No hypotheses were made concerning the possible Hutterite male-female differences in Self-Concept. This comparison, however, was made for descriptive purposes and also with the expectation that it might shed further light on the between-group comparison that was made previously. A chi-square (two-tailed) analysis was made in a manner similar to that utilized for the between-group comparison. Table 16 shows the results of the analysis. The table indicates a number of Hutterite male-female differences.

Occupation: It is evident that Hutterite males are more apt to give occupational responses than Hutterite females. This male-female difference may be related to the fact that Hutterite males can associate themselves with one or a few farm jobs which they may retain for a better part of their life. The females, on the other hand, responded more frequently in terms of their observed sex role. "Occupation" per se is essentially meaningless to the Hutterite female. There is only one occupational possibility, which is predetermined by her sex.

Group Membership: Female Hutterites gave general group responses significantly more than did Hutterite males.

Positive Affect: Male Hutterites tended to give positive affectual responses more frequently than did Hutterite females and this was responsible for the difference in "Personal Description." This difference may indicate that Hutterite males have their role in the communal more clearly defined as a position of worth. Women do not have a direct role in communal decisions. With the exception of head cook and tailor, distinctive positions of responsibility for women in relation to domestic duties are rotated.

Interests and Special Abilities: This category was more frequently chosen by Hutterite males in our sample than Hutterite females. Males seem to have more freedom to develop in this area. Trapping and horse riding are activities frequently mentioned.

Summary

Summary: The following is a brief summary of the findings of this phase of the investigation:

Attitudes Toward Parents: Hutterite males were more neutral toward their parents than Hutterite females. No significant differences appeared between Hutterite and control subjects with regard to attitudes toward their parents.

Punitive Figure and Mode of Punishment: Hutterite subjects chose the father as the predominant punitive figure and indicated significantly more concern for the punitive figure in contrast to the control subjects' concern for the mode of punishment.

Aspirations: Control subjects aspired to glamorous adults and composite or imaginary characters more frequently than did Hutterite subjects. Hutterite subjects indentified with animals more frequently and also responded with status quo responses with greater frequency than did control subjects.

Wishes: Wealth and possessions, more specifically, wealth and money, were wished for by Hutterites more frequently than by control subjects. Control subjects were significantly more other directed in their wish choices.

Fears: Hutterite subjects indicated a greater fear of animals and the supernatural than did control subjects. Control subjects, in contrast, indicated more fears of other persons, the unpredictable, and injury, illness, and death.

Self-Concept: Age, occupation, and group membership are more important components of the Hutterite self-concept than of the control self-concept. Control subjects responded with more personal descriptions. Hutterite males chose to respond within the "interest" and "Special Ability" and "Occupational" categories significantly more than did Hutterite females. Hutterite females chose to respond in the "General Group Membership" category more than did males.

Effectiveness of Hutterite socialization: Perhaps the most prominent finding, indicating some success in the Hutterite socialization process, was the resistance to change evidenced in many Hutterite responses. The idea of being changed and being different generally met with resistance in one form or another; to remain Hutterite is a persisting theme. The self-concept instrument supported the theory that Hutterites have a strong identifying tie with the group. Hutterite subjects tend to think in non-individualized terms about themselves and seem to lack the cognitive labels for more individualized descriptions of self. The self-concept instrument as well as the sentence completion technique reflected a prevalent Hutterite feeling that overt affective expression must be controlled. Other indications of effective Hutterite socialization are shown in the tendency toward industrious self-descriptions in contrast to the more hedonistic identifications. Other instruments, such as those dealing with aspirations and wishes, indicated that young Hutterites have been conditioned to define a great portion of their roles as work-oriented. Industrious communal members are a necessity if the community is to operate effectively. This concept seems to be well ingrained in the Hutterite adolescent.

Ineffectiveness of Hutterite socialization: The fact that few Hutterites defect to the outside is indicative of the behavioral conformity to Hutterite mores. Certain data of the present study, however, indicate that the colony fails to exert the same influence over the thinking and attitudes of all the members. Hutterite subjects in this sample indicate a desire for what Hutterites would term "worldly possessions." There are also indications of aggressive identification with animals. Interesting is the finding that in some respects Hutterites appear self-oriented. Control subjects, when given the opportunity to express personal wishes, frequently indicated a desire that parental needs would be met or the more philanthropic desire that the needs of society in general would be dealt with more effectively. This was not true of the Hutterite subjects. The later finding might be explained by observational data indicating that Hutterites tend to embrace a kind of dual logic in this respect, namely, a communal member is a brother; however, if a person is on the outside, his soul is lost and he does not merit the same consideration.

Internal versus external motivation: It is possible to relate the described phenomena to the hypothesis that many Hutterite values are not strongly internalized but are motivated by external surveillance. This possibility was evident in the sentence completion data relating to punitive figures and the mode of punishment. A relevant question then becomes, how do Hutterites manage to achieve individual adherence to communal mores and taboos?

The Hutterite appraisal of human nature is functional. They believe that the individual is not and cannot be perfect, but must constantly guard against "sin" (transgressions against the rules of society). In contrast to this the group can be perfect if the individuals who make it up do not express their inclination to "sin" behaviorally, in other words, if they participate fully in the group ritual. The community becomes the individual writ large. The minister, the German teacher, and the parent become the surveillant authorities; they play the role of the super ego. With exception of rare instances, the Hutterite is always within range of the surveillant authorities. Moral decisions do not have to be made individually; they are dictated by the communal authorities and by tradition which undergirds the communal. Internalization, in this instance, is not a critical aspect of socialization. These findings are based on pre-adolescents who are still in elementary school and should not be taken as representative of all adolescents, nor of the so-called "in-between" years from age 15 to baptism.

PART III. DEFECTION FROM THE HUTTERITE COLONY

CHAPTER 10. THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEFECTORS

Under what conditions do persons deviate from the Hutterite way of life? How do such persons, trained in a traditional communal society, make the transition to twentieth-century North American society?

An attempt was made to gain insight into this problem first from the macrosociological level. Attention was focused on:

a. the variables within the Hutterite social system which motivate people to react to them by abandoning it;
b. the consequences of defection upon the social system itself.

For the most part, reliance had to be placed on field observations and indirect evidence respecting this aspect of the inquiry. Secondly, the problem was approached from the individual level. Here attention was focused on:

1. the discernible characteristics which defectors possess which may account for their atypical behavior;
2. the socio-psychological consequences of their nonconformity for the defectors;
3. the variables associated with their satisfactory or unsatisfactory adjustment to the broader society.

The empirical data in this phase of the report was obtained by interviewing Hutterite defectors. They are permanent, long-term, or "successful" defectors as opposed to those who try and return. We are indebted to these individuals who were willing to examine and communicate intensely personal aspects of their experience. We were gratified by the insight the majority had into their own behavior, and even more, by the good will they displayed towards the interviewers whose purpose must have appeared strange to them. Every feasible precaution has been taken to protect their anonymity. None of the defectors came from the three colonies in the sample.

The research design was sufficiently flexible to permit adequate exploration of many dimensions of the problem. However, to prevent indiscriminate gathering of masses of data, Robert K. Merton's (1956) reference group theory was the primary theoretical basis employed for the selection of the data. It was believed that this framework would prove a useful guide to the isolation of the crucial variables underlying disaffiliation from a membership group and orientation to a nonmembership group. Defection is viewed as the extreme resulting pattern of response when a member of one group is subject to reference groups operating at cross purposes. Attempting to trace the patterns of influence of non-membership groups in the larger society would prove a very complicated task. With the Hutterites, however, we are dealing with a society that deliberately attempts to limit the numbers and kinds of groups that could feasibly become operative as reference groups for its members. An intensive interview with the defector enabled us to trace both the role played by those reference groups operative while he was on the colony which were influential in shaping his decision to defect and the role played by these and other reference groups in his subsequent assimilation.

In the reference group theory, the pertinent questions become: What aspects of the social organization in particular colonies operate to increase the exposure to and influence of non-membership reference groups? What aspects of the individual situation make identification with such available reference groups likely? Who are these non-membership reference groups? What role do they play in the subsequent assimilation of the defector?

The sample

An effort was made to include in the sample all the Hutterite defectors in North America that could be located and interviewed. We did not know how many cases we could find, but from preliminary work, it was possible to construct a list of several scores of such persons. Eaton and Weil (1955: 41) enumerated 106 males and eight females who defected from 1874-1951 which includes deceased cases. Mange (1963) reports 98 male and seven female defectors among the Schmiedeleut to 1960, but we do not know when they left or how many are living.

A systematic search for all living cases reached a total of 62 persons who were known to be living and outside the colonies. (This numeration does not include those persons who joined affiliated communal groups: the Society of Brothers, or the Community Farm of the Brethren. Nor does it include individuals in the several anathematized colonies that have been excommunicated from the Leut conferences, as we were concerned with socialization in the main ethnic body of Hutterites).

The total number successfully interviewed were 38 defectors (one interview was received too late to include in the analysis). Seven persons refused to be interviewed, and the remaining 17 were not contacted because they could not be located or reached. It is probable that there are more than 62 living defectors and that some cases escaped our attention. The compilation of the cases was made largely through the defectors themselves and from colony persons volunteering the information. These persons were located as far east as South Carolina, as far west as California, and from Texas to Alaska. The seasonal trend among boys to leave the colony in the summer with the intent to return in winter was recognized in this investigation, although no measure of the extent of this activity was made. Should there be as many as a hundred living persons who have permanently defected from the colony, this would be about 01.1 per cent of the total Hutterite population (age 15 and over) or a ratio of one male to ninty.

Before discussing the findings it should be noted that of the 38 persons interviewed, 30 had defected from Schmiedeleut colonies, eight from Dariusleut, and one from the Lehrerleut. These frequencies probably indicate nothing about the relative rate of defection among the three groups. The Lehrerleut are reputed to have a great deal of seasonal defection with boys leaving during the summer and returning in winter. They are reputed to be the "strictest" but they also have the largest per colony population (Table 1). Since the Schmiedeleut have the largest total population of the three Leut, it would be expected that they would have the most defectors. That the Schmiedeleut are reputed to be the most progressive may have some bearing on the disproportionately large number in the sample.

A structured, open-ended interview schedule of 129 items was designed to elicit information on the respondent's early experiences on the colony, motivations for leaving, the act of leaving, his life since, including his goals, employment, religious behavior, political activities, family life, attitudes towards and relationships with the colony and with other defectors. The interview schedule (See Appendix A, 5) was administered by seven interviewers. The interview was semi-standardized to the extent that the interviewer felt free to probe or further explore unusual replies. It was felt, in view of the exploratory nature of the study, that the additional insight provided outweighed the complications in analysis entailed by this policy. To avoid further reducing the small sample, the schedule was pre-tested with the Hutterites who had defected but subsequently returned to the colony. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, along with a detailed account of the impressions of the interviewer. On doubtful points, it was possible to validate information from additional interviewees.

Sex, marital status, and age at leaving

From Table 17 it can be seen that only ten of the thirty-seven defectors are females. This proportion of females to males is four times greater than that reported by Eaton and Weil (1955: 41, 145) who found only eight female deserters of the 114 who were absent at the time of completion of their field work in 1951. It is possible that females are over-represented in our sample. However, since traditionally the female sex on colonies is the more conservative and protected sex, the larger female-male ratio may be indicative of a trend.

The time elapsed since departure varies from a few months to 47 years. The mean is 7.4 years and the median is 4 years. More than half of the defectors had been gone from their colonies six years or more. Those away a year or less include several temporary sojourners. These people have left the colony to experience what the outside world has to offer before returning to the colony and the responsibilities that await them there. They have no intention of remaining away permanently. We passed by many such possible interviews because this phase of the study was primarily concerned with those who have attempted to make a permanent place for themselves in the outside world. Nevertheless, the decision was made to incorporate three of these interviews because their comparison with permanent defectors offers some insightful contrasts. For ease of discussion, these sojourners will hereafter be referred to as "tourists."

Approximately 68 per cent have found homes for themselves in predominantly rural centers. The availability of work similar to that performed in the colony was undoubtedly a factor which eased their transition to the outside world. Very few of the defectors who eventually located in urban centers moved there directly from the colony. Most worked their way through easy stages, which usually involved a year or so of farm labor.

Motivations for leaving

Asking defectors why they left produced a wide variety of idiosyncratic responses. Most frequently mentioned were the desire for freedom and self-direction, the desire to enjoy mass media entertainment and own property (especially an automobile), inability to get along with leaders, and rejection of prescribed work roles (Table 18). Clearly, we cannot rely on the respondents' expressed reasons to supply us with an adequate understanding of defection.

Present occupation

Defectors' present occupations (for the most part farm labor and skilled and semi-skilled manual labor) are usually classified as indicators of lower class style of life. (Table 19). Only three defectors: a prosperous farm-owner, a foreman of a cattle ranch, and self-employed carpenter whose wife owns a dry-cleaning establishment, could possibly be classified as belonging to the middle class.

Educational level

The majority of the defectors left the colony with an eighth-grade education, which, for many reasons, would be less than the equivalent of an eighth-grade education outside Hutterite colonies. Nearly three-quarters of the defectors accept modern society's high evaluation of education. Many are implicitly aware that it serves as a mobility channel through the stratification system and that the acquisition of more education enables one to locate more satisfying and lucrative employment. Many regret their own educational shortcomings and intend to have their own children well-educated. Six stated that the desire for more education figured prominently in their motivations for leaving the colony. Thirty-two per cent are presently engaged in some form of training, academic, or vocational, or have made realistic and immediate plans for such training. Sixteen per cent are men forty years or older who are settled in their present occupation. Eight per cent are dependent housewives. Forty-three per cent are in their twenties and thirties and have no educational goals. While some are dissatisfied with their present jobs, many more are reasonably content in the first type of job they located which provided them with a living. They are convinced they can improve their job situation by working assiduously in the same sphere of activity. All but one of the single female defectors are presently engaged in training themselves for a more satisfying occupational role. (Table 20).

Relationship to the English teacher

In an earlier study Deets (1939, 41) reported that although the personal influence of the English school teacher had had noticeable effects on the children, the introduction of a secular educational system was too recent to assess the effect of its imposition on the Hutterites. The influence of the school teacher, as a representative of the outside world, became clearly discernible to the interviews. That three quarters of the defectors valued higher education suggests acceptance of North American values. The fact that six left with some notion of obtaining more training points to the influence of the English teachers' views upon them. Many more said they enjoyed school very much. Several took pride in having been the brightest pupil in their class. The fascination with the world of learning is expressed by one defector:

"I thought of leaving when I was taken from school at the age of fourteen. I was greatly disappointed, for education was my object." The Hutterites have always been a literate people, but they currently accept only that amount of education necessary to read the Bible and the writings of their forebearers and to adequately perform agricultural roles. Scepticism and the rational evaluation of ideas is foreign to a people who never experienced the Renaissance. The English teacher living in their midst, by his teaching and style of life, exposes colony children to the "Weltgeist," the spirit of the world. The colony is consequently in a dilemma. Previous attempts to send out its own members to be trained as teachers resulted, with few exceptions, in their desertion. Yet, the colony must comply with governmental education laws.

All but one of the defectors can remember the religious affiliation of their various teachers. One man can quote after forty years the religious views of his teacher, a deposed Baptist minister. While only seven acknowledge any direct influence of their English teacher upon their decision to leave, ten have since been in contact with him or his family. Eighteen now belong to the same religious denomination as did their favorite teacher. This connection was mentioned only by the seven defectors who acknowledge their teacher's influence on their decision to defect.

Working off the colony

A second influence impinging on these people was the experience of working for the benefit of the colony on the farms of neighbors. Even the strictest colonies permit this practice which dates back to their early days in Moravia. However strong colonies generally send them out in small, supervised groups. Only one defector did not have non-Hutterite friends while in the colony and the majority mentioned were nearby farmers. Much of the data came spontaneously from the defectors. Four of the women had cleaned house for neighbors. Seven of the men had worked on farms and one for the municipality. Eleven men acknowledge the active help of such neighbors in making their escapes through the offer of a job, loan of a vehicle, or money. Two women were given jobs by their brothers' employers. An additional four men made plans for their departure with the aid of outsiders they had met in town. Only six defectors denied talking with ex-Hutterites about their experiences in the outside world. A few admit actively seeking out such people for information and acknowledge their influence upon their own decision to leave.

Cohesiveness of colony of origin

The most compelling factor emerging from this analysis was that the rate of defection was highly correlated with the cohesiveness of the colony of origin. The colony of origin of twenty-seven defectors appears to have been disorganized. A disorganized colony has chronic and unresolved problems of internal leadership, frequently characterized by a power struggle between extended family lines. A great deal of information is available on four separate colonies from which twenty-two defectors originated. Information on two colonies classified as disorganized has been validated by testimony of well-informed non-Hutterites who have good rapport with the colony. Similar symptoms of disorganization are reported by five defectors representing two additional colonies. The colony of origin of ten defectors was cohesive. However, one of these ten left a colony which later became severely disorganized and two others were born in a disorganized colony. The defectors from disorganized colonies fall into two categories. Seven defectors are characterized by intense religious commitment but reject the institutional means for maintaining the communal system. In Merton's (1957: 140) typology of modes of individual adaptation they would be classed as innovators since they accept the religious goals of the society. But their future orientation is an attitude of renewal. They are herein designated as "sacred-oriented" defectors, since a distinguishing feature is that they are seeking the path to heaven through an alternate route, usually through affiliation with another religious group. By contrast there were thirteen "assimilated" defectors who reacted to their situation by adopting the secular norms and values of their atypical colony environment. Religious motivation plays a minor role in their life outside the colony and they shall be designated hereafter as "secular-oriented" defectors.

Hutterite leadership is intimately bound up with the cohesiveness of the colony. Twenty of the defectors had trouble getting along with colony leaders. These conflicts ranged from frequent differences of opinion to physical blows. Such antagonism was the primary motive for defection given by six subjects.

Relationship to family of origin

One of the revealing discoveries is that defection can be accounted for in a few nuclear families. Seventeen defectors from the Schmiedeleut came from five nuclear families. Four of these families live in a "disorganized" colony and one family that lost three individuals lives in an unrelated colony. Six of the eight defectors from the Dariusleut came from one nuclear family in a colony that was known to be disorganized. Although there is an equalitarian emphasis on the use of property and an acknowledged stratification system, it does not appear that this in itself is cause for defection. Only when there is imbalance in the leadership between extended families and when one is held in subordination and discrimination is there a basis for partiality and a breakdown of socialization. One aspect of this stratification system is the high status accorded to leaders and their families and the benefits devolving upon them. In some colonies, nepotism is common and favoritism is shown by the council to their families and close friends. In disorganized colonies, this tendency is accentuated. Families are polarized into high-status families and low-status families. This invidious distinction was mentioned by twenty-six defectors. Of these twenty-six defectors, sixteen belonged to low-status families in disorganized colonies, seven belonged to high-status families in disorganized colonies, and three belonged to high-status families in cohesive colonies.

The defector's family being out of step with the general atmosphere of the colony regarding religious orthodoxy and discipline seems to be of some importance. Many defectors originated in a family that was stricter than most others in their disorganized colony (Table 21). Four defectors originated in a family that was stricter than most in a cohesive colony and were leaders' sons.

Many of the defectors had parents who were themselves atypical in some way. The importance of the defector's relationship with his father was noted in a journalist's study of Korean soldiers who defected. (Pasley 1955: 245-48). Eleven Hutterite defectors were sons of leaders. Six of the defectors had a common father, regarded as a "black sheep" in one disorganized colony. In addition to the behavior which earned him this title, he originated from the

Prairieleut, a group of Hutterites who emigrated to the United States and later abandoned communal living. Their mother was regarded as a religious fanatic. Another defector had a father who was known as the troublemaker and who was despised by the colony people and his son for his spying and tale-bearing. One had a father who received a college education and taught the English school on the colony. Six had a mother who defected and returned only when her husband (father of one defector) died. She remarried on the colony and five children of her second husband defected. The situation of those defectors who were closely related to the colony leaders appears to be significant and to warrant further discussion.

Nineteen defectors have siblings who are also defectors. Four have additional, remote ex-Hutterite relatives with whom they have close contact. Four have ex-Hutterite relatives with whom they have no contact. (They were, however, well aware of their existence before they abandoned the colony). The example and, in some cases, the active encouragement of family members who left had a great influence on the decision made by these defectors. The mutual support they have been able to offer one another cushioned the difficult period of transition.

CHAPTER 11. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND DEFECTION

The disorganized colony

A disorganized colony is incapable of exerting control over the behavior of its people including the organization of the most important personal satisfaction, that of work. Internal leadership problems charactierized by a breakdown of social structure are apparent (even to outsiders) and take the form of unresolved power struggles between extended families. A disorganized colony (as opposed to a cohesive one) should not be confused with a colony experiencing temporary leadership problems which can be corrected by intervention from the preachers' conferences. Some colonies that appear to be cohesive are strained by internal conflicts, but can successfully hide these internal troubles.

A disorganized colony has chronic problems. The leadership has not responded satisfactorily to the Leut conference over a period of many years, and the colony is referred to among Hutterites as ein sterbene Kolonie (a dying colony). The colonies themselves differentiate among each other by such prestige factors as wealth and poverty, differential conformity to the norms (Gemeindeordnung), kinship and family line preferences, management ability, and the frequency of defection. Variation in these characteristics is in a sense normal and to be expected; only when they remain in a state of imbalance do serious breakdowns in the social structure result. All of the above potentially disorganizaing characteristics were observed in our sample colonies but they were held in check and did not constitute a chronic problem or a sense of hopelessness among colony personnel as is the case in the disorganized colony. The indications that defection is associated with the disorganized colony is overwhelming. Twenty-two defectors originated from two "dying" colonies, and five more defectors appear to come from two other disorganized colonies (or a total of 27 of the 37 defectors).

The deviation of individual colonies from the Leut conference was another form of disorganization encountered in the scope of this investigation. Several colonies have been excommunicated from the three main Leut. We excluded from the sample of defectors all coming from such a colony. Brief case studies of these anathematized colonies indicates that in all of them there were rivalries between extended families. The form which these rivalries took was associated with the control of wealth, refusal to accept a newly ordained preacher, or serious disagreement over privileges. One of the seeds of internal dissention, as has been pointed out by Deets (1931: 134), is power wrested from the colony by the extended family.

Many defectors spoke of their colony as disorganized. (Some would have joined another colony but the norms of the Hutterite culture forbid any change of residence except by marriage and branching.) A defector tells of the actions taken against his father who was the preacher of a disorganized colony. Although the council was hostile to him, he retained control of the colony situation as a whole:

> I think my old man was wonderful. He was a very plain human being. He was ambitious and worked a lot. He ran the sawmill. He was a big shot in the colony so some people hated him and tried to ruin his machinery, etc. My mother was in bed with a two-day-old baby and one of them sneaked up and put off a firecracker on the window sill about midnight and my dad didn't get over that for about two or three months. My old man was fed up. They wouldn't go to his sermon no more and he would come home bawling and wouldn't eat his dinner. The good Lord took him at thirty-seven . . . .

In answer to the question, "Do you think the council at your colony treated all persons fairly?" a defector from another disorganized colony gives this reply:

> No, I don't think they treated me fair and I don't think they treated a lot of other families fair. You could start talking and never finish. Like if you wanted to visit your relations, you just about had to drop to your knees and then they wouldn't let you go, and if they wanted to go any place, just that quick, the panel or whatever they took, was right in front of their place and away they went. If they went to town they had all the money they wanted, and the rest didn't have any--unless they stole it. If you wanted to have your own spending money you had to. I don't believe in that. I believe if you're going to live a Christian life, it's supposed to be all the same thing. I don't think they lived according to their beliefs.

The Hutterite system works only when the pre-eminence of the collective welfare over individual welfare is cheerfully and unquestionably accepted by all. Furthermore, a certain amount of personal autonomy and competition are integral parts of the system. The work organization breaks down when each person is anxious to put forth only the minimum amount of effort.

A sacred-oriented defector from a disorganized colony was asked whether her colony was less strict than the others.

> Yes. Well the way (the preacher) lived. (He) did most anything and then I know ______ used to say, "If the minister can do that, I can do it too." And so they were more or less smoking and drinking, and they did all these things. You see, in the other colonies, if a boy drinks and smokes, right there they punish him. But our colony didn't do this, you see, because (the preacher) was so weak. And he did this too and the others did too, so he thought he was just like the others . . . Sin came in more and more, and that's why (our colony) is this way.

If any role-player dissassociates himself from the discipline and the norm and value structure of the system, this will cause disorder in other parts of the system. The status of the deviant role-player will be an important factor determining the profundity of the reverberations within the total system which result from his disaffection. With increasing exposure to the temptations of the outside world, a certain amount of tolerance for the recalcitrance of the adolescents is expected. This is in keeping with the charter: "The heart of man tends to evil things from early youth." (Anon. 1557: 218). The elders shake their heads and say, "They are young and wild. They will grow out of it." However, such a flirtation with alien values by a leader, even an adult man, is very disruptive to the system.

The Hutterites tend to view hidden deviancy as non-existent. On the most severely disorganized colony to come to our attention, only a certain degree of overt deviance is approved. There is a very delicate problem for young people in discovering the limits of tolerated behavior, even if they feel free to take advantage of the leaders' lack of authority to do as they please. For example, nearly everyone on this colony has a radio which is kept hidden since one must not be caught listening to it. A televison set that everyone knew existed was tolerated until the owner put up an antenna. Then the public opinion forced him to remove the antenna. This was a very atypical instance.

If a young man tried to be an orthodox Hutterite within this setting, others of his peer group feel decidedly uneasy in his company. The young woman can hope for escape by marriage and the resulting move to her husband's colony. Young men have difficulty attracting wives because a bride from a reputable colony would lose face by locating in an ill-managed colony. The economic situation alone makes it an undesirable place for a bride to locate. There is an additional strain on the system when men are unmarried into their thirties in a culture where marriage is the expectation and the prerequisite for manhood. The young man can only hope for an eventual branching out.

Stratification and social sources of conflict

Like any organization, a colony has to face the problem of allocation of power and authority. Each individual colony is, for most purposes, an autonomous unit. Although preachers from other colonies are involved in the choice of a new preacher and there is a modicum of control over deviant leaders by the larger Leut council, in reality there exists no machinery to act decisively in the affairs of an individual colony. The Leut can excommunicate a leader for drunkenness or adultery but can act with less dispatch in the case of incompetent ability. Within each colony, the authority is in the hands of the council who are supported in their responsibility by the "will of God." The two broad social classes found in the larger colonies are the council and their families and the other families in the colony. The colony council as a whole is under the direction of the preacher, who has authority over all areas of colony life, while the other members are responsible for the operation of specialized spheres of colony activity. The six people who compose the colony council have met both ascribed and achieved status requirements. They are baptized, married males who have demonstrated sufficient ability and acquired the necessary knowledge to hold their respective jobs. Collectively, they are responsible for the spiritual life and the work organization of the entire colony. In the hands of these men is the direction of all the activities which in our society are differentiated into the economic, governmental, educational, and religious institutions. If the colony is already factionalized into competing extended families, there is little even a strong, good leader can do to correct the situation other than to attempt to lead with a strong hand and to plan for an early branching.

Poor leaders, chosen and installed, disrupt the colony. There is some balance if the first minister is poor and the householder and second minister are strong. The momentum of the colony can usually pull the colony through this period of poor leadership. Similarly cohesive colonies can survive the tenure of a poor householder if the other members of the executive council are good leaders. In some cases the Leut conference steps in to mitigate the situation. This may be helpful. However, if a "bad" leader (who shows favoritism) rather than a weak one should be selected in a colony already experiencing difficulties with factions, then the outside help of the Leut usually is not sufficiently powerful to correct the situation. There are not institutionalized means within the colony to remove a bad leader if he does not commit a gross transgression. When bad leaders arise there is invariably a factionalization of the colony into groups of extended families who vie for power. (Often the early elements of this factionalization have culminated in the selection of a bad leader.)

Hierarchy and democracy are not mutually exclusive and there are elements of both in the Hutterite system. The charter demands an order and hierarchy as well as brotherhood and similarity. Hutterite society has to make provisions for specialization and division of labor. Social differentiation is recognized and utilized in the colony and is based upon ascribed and achieved criteria. There is a patterning of earned roles and in the more traditional manner, according to birth order in the family. There is a constant realignment of roles within the hierarchy brought about by death of the members, aging, incompetence, maturation of younger men, and changing in the economy of the colony. Branching out also induces a rapid realignment of roles and change in the hierarchy.

Since work is made virtually a sacrament, extraordinary performance of occupational roles is both proof of dedication to God and devotion to the system. Dedication to religious principles is, in effect, dedication and loyalty to the Hutterite group itself.

Role competition

Closely associated with colony disorganization is dissatisfaction with the allotment of important roles. Coincidental with such factors as personal preference and the influence of a family on the council in filling the roles open on the colony from that of preacher to that of pig boss, there is operative a principle of primogeniture and inheritance of roles, possibly as a residual of Hutterite life in medieval Europe. This has been functional for the colony in that a boy, usually the eldest and who has his father's name, can begin his training at an early age so by the time he is ready to assume the role, he has a thorough understanding of the way it is performed. Secondly, role-inheritance is functional for the colony because the colony is not engaged in agriculture for its own consumption alone but is engaged in economic competition which links it to the outside world. It must have money to buy machinery, services and consumable goods which, to an increasing degree, it cannot provide for itself. Equally important is the necessity for money with which to buy land for continual expansion. The cattle boss must be able to produce steers as economically as the farmers outside in competing for markets. It is extremely important that he already knows everything his father knew about cattle and is ready to build on his knowledge of the latest developments as he becomes aware of them through government agricultural experts and through comparing his operation with that of his counterpart in other colonies. The denigration of formal secular education beyond the minimum literacy requirement, as something foisted upon them from the outside, makes this practical experience and long socialization even more important.

A problem arises, however, because a Hutterite father usually has four or more sons. To what are the younger sons to aspire? Historically, the Hutterites have dealt with this problem by instituting new occupational roles and "bosses" whenever there were too many male candidates for the available roles. But today changes in production techniques as well as consumption standards preclude this as a viable solution. The young man can therefore readily determine, by comparing his job to the operation of other colonies, just how vital his role in the colony really is. Of the twenty-five male defectors for whom we have information, four were eldest in their families. The great majority were younger siblings. Two of these were preachers' sons. Job competition can be alleviated by splitting up to form two colonies at the right time.

Strains in leadership roles

The roles of the Hutterite preacher and householder contain fundamental strains for their incumbents. The preacher and boss, while fulfilling their duties, are also exposed to the values of the outside world against which they are to protect the colony as a whole. Their duties include representing the colony in the wider community.

The one telephone in a colony is located in the quarters of either the householder or the preacher. Such a leader can, of course, respond to this situation by becoming more antagonistic to life outside, but his own barrier of ignorance cannot be maintained. The value conflicts which all Hutterites are experiencing to a certain extent because of the inexorable pressure from the outside are more likely to be magnified in these leaders by virtue of their more exposed position.

Because of their decisive role in the Hutterite hierarchy, the preacher, householder, (and other members of the council) look upon themselves and their world in somewhat different terms than the ordinary Hutterite. This holds true even if their actions are strictly in accordance with the values of the group and enable it to move towards its collective goals. Playing a role of power and authority develops a somewhat different self-image and orientation towards life in the role-player. The leader is forced into a somewhat atypical Hutterite role in that he is forced to make decisions, and decisions that affect other people. In addition to an initially different view of himself and his environment and his greater exposure to the values of the outside world, the Hutterite leader is forced to act in more and more situations where his behavior cannot be prescribed by the Ordnungen. He must do the thinking for the whole group in its increasingly difficult position. These strains may very well contribute to the etiology of the mental breakdowns suffered by leaders, mostly householders, included in psychiatric case records we have examined.

In a number of the disorganized colonies, the leaders who preceded the present incumbents were respected and admired throughout the system. What happens when a mediocre leader follows a powerful and admired leader? The incidence of mental depression and retreat into alcoholism in a number of cases points to the fact that the mediocre leader experiences guilt and anxiety when his role expectations are not performed as well as his predecessor performed them. As well as being less able to lead, such new leaders are facing more difficult circumstances than were faced a generation or two ago. A discrepancy between actor's expectations and the expectations of the system was found by Kaplan and Plaut (1956: 69) to be widespread among "normal" Hutterites. They found this to be a central factor in the most common mental illness which is characterized by depression, guilt, and a desire for punishment. When leader's roles are not sufficiently rewarding they may also seek personal indulgences.

Disorganization and socialization

This phase of the investigation is concerned with the "weak spots" in the socialization process and what can be learned about communal socialization from the facts associated with defection.

The indoctrination processes were in operation during the childhood period of the defectors but gradually, as they became older, they became aware of the discrepancies between belief and practice, or between the emotional climate of their colony and the ideals it expressed. Such awareness came early in life in the disorganized colony where it was common knowledge that the leaders were weak and they and others indulged in privileges forbidden by the charter. Little attempt was made to control the children or to protect them from the realities of the situation. In colonies experiencing power struggles, extreme animosity, and severe economic difficulties there was frequently an unusually strict discipline over those children too young to be conscious of the tense power situation. This discipline was exercised most particularly on the children of less favored, less powerful families. This type of socialization was more characteristic of the older colonies than of those founded more recently. These colonies were more resistant than the majority in accepting technological innovations. The German teacher in the above described colonies was regarded by the defectors as an unreasonable disciplinarian who utilized extreme methods for controlling the children. Almost unanimously, these defectors felt they were singled out, as representatives of low status families, for the brunt of this treatment. Children in this situation were nevertheless given a more thorough grounding in the religious foundation of Hutterianism than those originating from colonies where the structure has disintegrated. Defectors from a colony where the leadership was weak tended to criticize the German teacher for being too lax in his discipline.

In disorganized colonies where the economic situation is extremely depressed, young boys had experience working outside the colony. The colony sold the labor of its young men to ameliorate its financial problem. However, it lost control of the boys to the extent that it had to be satisfied with collecting a fraction of their wages. The boys acquired experience in handling their own money and in dealing with outsiders. They gained some measure of confidence in their ability to earn a livelihood on their own. They had seen others leave the colony before them and had talked with visiting ex-Hutterites. It was impossible to be an orthodox Hutterite in their own colony. (The combination of such considerations may be regarded as the "push" from the colony.) They were curious to explore further the life outside. They had some confidence in their ability to find work and to make their own way. (Such factors may be regarded as the "pull" from the world.) A defector asked if he felt like a stranger after he left, replied, "No, I was pretty well acquainted with outside people. I was always on the outside and running around." Thus some defectors had become sufficiently cynical about the Hutterite way of life to doubt whether they would automatically lose their eternal goal by satisfying their curiosity and thirst for freedom. Most were unencumbered by dependent wives and children. They knew they would always be welcomed back if their venture failed. They had very little to lose by defecting.

Many were involved in long-term disputes with the householder, the preacher, or the German teacher. In five cases, their defection was precipitated by antagonism with the leaders; in two cases, by an argument that came to blows.

Leaving the colony was a big step but the alternative available on the colony was not attractive. Many had the support of siblings or other ex-Hutterites who had left before them. Their motivation was an admixture of "push" from an unhappy situation and "pull" of the outside world.

Eleven of the 37 defectors in the sample were children of leaders, that is, their father was represented on the council. Seven of these were preachers' sons. There were no females among the eleven. In the sample, it was found that the sons of colony leaders had most thoroughly adopted the values of the American society, and they appeared to be the most ambitious and self-confident of all defectors that were interviewed. Many of them remain concerned with getting out from under authority long after leaving the colony. For some, a break with the patriarchal colony was equated with a break from the patriarchal father. Younger sons of the preachers felt that their chances for getting an important role in the colony was remote. In some cases, it appears that the sons of preachers were favored. In one, the father wanted the son to become a school teacher. In another the father urged his son to acquire the skills of a civil engineer. Such favoritism in adolescence appears to militate against the welfare of the colony. Children who experience special considerations use the privileges to their personal advantage in a way that contributes to their self-confidence and subsequent independence from the colony system.

Daughters of leaders have different role strains than do the sons. They share the subordinate status placed on women. If the family of the preacher has a high prestige ranking, the daughter has a good chance of an early marriage and does not feel the need to be pre-eminent or secure a power position. Even though few women leave the colony, there is direct evidence that daughters of leaders do face atypical problems. All colony roles are psychologically marked by strong elements of dependency, but doubly so among the women. Any woman who cannot accept the definition of the role given to her will have more difficulty than the male in finding alternative avenues of expression and will have an even more difficult time leaving the colony. The group of five sisters in the sample (as well as another sibship of four sisters in another colony and not in the sample) indicates a probable rejection of the Hutterite sex role and an escape through a fundamentalist and highly individualistic religion.

On the basis of their orientation to and interest in religion the defectors were classified into sacred and secular oriented categories (Table 22). Thirteen of the 27 defectors from disorganized colonies are classed as secular and six are classed as sacred, while the orientation of the remaining eight is less clearly manifest. On the whole the secular defectors are not anti-religious but the participation patterns of those who have affiliated with churches are passive rather than active (Table 25).

In twenty-seven of the thirty-seven cases of defection, there are compelling indications that Hutterite defection is associated with a disorganized colony. It seems apparent, therefore, that we are here confronted with the breakdown of the structure rather than with a socialization process that has flaws. The charter itself is remarkably free of internal contradictions and leaves few situations where serious moral decisions must be made. Exposure to the outside world is not a cause of disintegration but has an effect only where these sources of internal contradiction exist as a precondition.

CHAPTER 12. THE MARGINAL HUTTERITE AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF DEFECTORS

Adjustment to American values

The nature of the adjustment to the American society made by those who defected from the colony life was one of the objectives of this investigation. In order to evaluate the degree of adjustment made by each defector to his environment, fourteen areas of adaptation were considered. Adjustment was operationalized, for the purposes of this study, as the extent to which the defector indicated by his answers to the interview schedule that he had accepted key values of the American society in preference to those advocated in parallel areas by his society of origin. Key values in the American society were based largely on Robbin Williams, American Society (1951: 385-429).

The following values were considered: Belief in competition, progress, and occupational mobility rather than passive acceptance of allocated work roles and orientation to the status quo; acceptance of education for both its intrinsic worth and as a ladder for mobility rather than with the Hutterite suspicion for secular learning beyond minimum literacy requirements and its corollary of reliance on rationality rather than authority; belief in worth of the individual and his freedom of behavior and decision rather than collectivistic and dependency attitudes; endorsement of material comfort and self-gratification rather than austerity and simplicity of living; acceptance of duties of citizenship, i.e. voting and if necessary, bearing arms rather than proscribing or banning interest in the political process and sanctioning of pacifism.

In each area, from ten to thirty questions were initially placed in the interview schedule to elicit the necessary information. Fewer questions were designed to tap the last two rather specific areas. But since the schedule was open-ended, pertinent material was abundant. In addition, the emotional overtones of the entire interview and the detailed comments of the interviewer were valuable. The defector was given an adjustment score of three to zero in each of the fourteen areas, or a possible total of forty-two. An arbitrary cutting point of twenty-one determined satisfactory or unsatisfactory adjustment.

In the remainder of this section, quotations from the interviews are presented as extremes characterizing each of the fourteen dimensions. A defector manifesting high adjustment in each particular area is contrasted with a defector manifesting low adjustment. The statements appearing first were rated three and those appearing last were rated zero. One isolated reply to one question was not the basis on which these ratings were made. All the relevant questions were taken into consideration. What follows is illustrative of what was felt to merit a high or low rating in an area, when and only when, it was corroborated by supporting evidence.

1. Belief in competition, progress, and occupational mobility rather than passive acceptance of allocated work roles and orientation to the status quo. (Responses are, of course, from two different persons within each

numerical item.)

(high) I'd like to get myself enough money saved up so I could get a farm of my own or a business of my own so I don't have to work for somebody else for the rest of my life. In this part of the country, it's pretty hard to get a farm because you need too much money. If one saves up a little bit of money and rents a place, that's about the only way you can eventually be able to buy it. Maybe, it'll never happen but you just got to keep trying.

(low) You never make a go of it by working hard. Did you ever see the millionaire that ever worked hard? Cheat the public, you got to go cheat the public. The people I know around here that's got money . . . stole and robbed the blind . . . An honest hard day's work, nobody gets rich.

2. Satisfaction with present work situation rather than dissatisfaction.
Q. Are you happy with your present job and salary?
(high) Yes, I have my own 600-acre farm worth $90,000 nearly clear.

Q. Are you happy with your present job and salary?
(low) No.
Q. What do you think your chances are of getting a better job?
I think my chances would be good, if I'd go out and look, which I intend to do pretty soon. Every year I get spring fever. Then it rains and you get discouraged. (This defector is unhappy with his work but he never quite gets around to taking action to remedy his situation.)

3. Acceptance of education for both its intrinsic worth and as a ladder for mobility rather than the Hutterite suspicion of secular learning beyond minimum literacy requirements.

Q. Did you go to school since leaving the colony?
(high) Yes, I've been going to high school by mail.
Q. What do you think your chances are of getting a better job?
Well, that's pretty hard to tell. I'm working on that now, going to high school and I plan to go to college.

Q. What grade did you finish on the colony?
(low) Seven.
Q. Have you gone to school since leaving the colony?
No.
Q. Would you try to get more education if you had the time and money?
I don't think I would.

4. Secular orientation versus sacred orientation.

Q. Is religion important to you still?
(high) Oh, I don't know. I go to church once in a while.
Q. Do you go to church fairly often?
In the winter time, I do. In the summer time, I don't get too much time. Even in the winter time, I'm pretty busy.

(low) Q. Would you rather marry a Hutterite or a non-Hutterite?
A. Kind of hard to say. If he'd be a Christian, if he loved the Lord more than he loved me, you know, and was the way the Lord would want him to be, I wouldn't mind even if he was a Hutterite.

5. Belief in worth of the individual and his freedom of behavior and decision rather than collectivistic and dependency attitudes.

(high) Q. What do you like most about being out of the colony?
A. Well, people don't tell you what to do and what not to do. You more or less do things that you think are right.
Q. Would you advise other people to leave the colony?
A. No! I left because I wanted some freedom for myself. I would not have liked to have someone try to talk me into leaving the colony. Or after I had my mind made up, to try to talk me out of it. No. I would never help anybody to leave, but if they had it in their mind, I would never try to talk them out of it.

(low) Q. What do you want most to get out of life?
A. I guess happiness.
Q. How do you expect to get happiness?
A. Put all your troubles in the Lord.
Q. And you plan to go to Bible School?
A. Yes, that's if my sisters will let me.
(Thirty-one year-old woman clinging to the protection of a total institution and relying on younger sisters to direct her life.)

6. Endorsement of material comfort and self-gratification rather than austerity and simplicity of living.

(high) Now we got a nice dining room set. We got a $300 TV, and we got [illegible] washing machine. I want to make it as handy for my wife as I can. We never had any of them things . . . It's been just two years since I left and we are completely equipped in the house. Have a big General Electric freezer. Have a 1959 Impala car and almost all paid for.

(low) Q. What is your goal?
A. To lead a good life, but not to become rich. What did Christ say to the rich young ruler when he said, "Good Master, what may I do to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven?" . . . Well, he said, "If you want to be saved, share what you have and give it to the poor." Rich, rich won't get you nowheres, will it?

7. Extent of motivation to achieve full membership in new group.

(high) Q. What was the thing that surprised you most about life outside the colony?
A. It was just about anything a guy could want. I figured I could make a go of it and get used to whatever there was . . . I didn't look for any differences. I tried to get along. I could not speak the American language. I started in trying to read by reading magazines and reading the paper.

(low) Q. Do you think a great deal about returning to the colony?
A. Yes, I do.
Q. What do you like most about being out of the colony?
A. Nothing special.
Q. If you were back to the colony, what would you miss most about the life outside?
A. Nothing inparticular.

8. Enduring confidence in original decision to defect.

(high) I think the only condition on which I would return is if I just couldn't possibly make my way. . . if I really got stuck and I couldn't do nothing else, and I don't think anybody has to get stuck, not that bad.

(low) Lots of time I regret it (leaving). Boy I could hit somebody over the head, lots of times!
Q. Would you do it all over again?
A. No, not unless I got lots of money and could take a trip around the world. I'd rather stay there. I sure wouldn't want to go out and work again, like I do now.

9. Extent to which defector is free from conflict of identity.

(high) Q. Do you still think of yourself as a Hutterite?
A. No, I don't. I don't even think I think that way any more.
Q. Does the colony still look upon you as a Hutterite?
A. No.

(low) Q. Do you still think of yourself as a Hutterite?
A. I don't know how you explain this because, you see, we are born. But I mean I was baptized into the Mennonites and now I am a Mennonite. But actually I wouldn't know if people would ask me, what to say.
Q. Does the colony still look upon you as a Hutterite?
A. That's kind of hard to say. They usually say youre a Hutterite and you stay a Hutterite till the day you die.

10. Extent of active participation in activities of outside world and satisfaction derived therefrom.

(high) I belong to the curling club in town and the Credit Union, things like that . . . In fact, like last night, I curled with all the neighbors in town here. We beat them pretty bad too. It's a good sport.

(low) I don't have any membership in any group.

11. Extent to which he experiences acceptance by outside world, particularly by "significant others."

(high) Q. How were you treated by outsiders?
A. Wonderful! I had a good personality. I wasn't scared of people . . . I met a good buddy and he introduced me to some nice guys and pretty soon I was one of the crowd.

(low) Q. Who is your best friend at this time?
A. I don't think too much of having a best friend because it doesn't pay. You can't trust them and then if you tell them everything, they turn against you.

12. Extent to which his attitude towards colony involves realistic appraisal of its drawbacks for him, other than nostalgia.

Q. Do you every think of going back to the colony?
A. No, never. I don't think I'd ever fit into that. (high)

(low) In a colony, at least everybody knows that he's going to be taken care of and there is no worry about work in wintertime when jobs are slack like in this world . . . . In our case, if you haven't got the money, if you haven't got a roof over your head, why you'd be starting to worry about it. That's one of the things in this world that brings on hypertension and insecurity, I would say, which they don't have to worry about. They don't know that word in the colonies. I work harder outside the colony than I did in and this was something I really didn't expect. You have to make your living here, and in the colony you could take it a little easier and still have a lot of fun beside that. I like the way they run their business and stuff, and I think you could enjoy being in the colony. You've got more buddies which you don't have on the outside . . . I get real lonely on the outside.

13. Acceptance of duties of citizenship--voting, bearing of arms, if necessary--vs. disinterest in the political process and pacifism.

(high) Well, I'm a Republican, but I don't think I'd vote for Goldwater, so I'll go somewhere else and vote for Johnson because I think he is twice as good a man as Goldwater is . . . . But if Scranton would have got it, I would have voted for him because I think he's a better man than Goldwater.
Q. If it were necessary, do you think it would be right to fight for your country?
A. Yes, I do and I would do it. I would fight right along with the rest of them. I didn't get this idea from the colony. It was something I picked up for myself . . . I disagreed even as a child. When some boys entered the service, I thought they had done the right thing. We live there and it's our duty as much as anybody else's.

(low) Q. You haven't voted in any election, but if you could vote in an election, do you have any idea who you would vote for? (no reply) Or haven't you thought about it?
A. No.
Q. If it were necessary, do you think it would be right for you to fight for your country?
A. You would just about have to fight. There's no getting away from it whether you want to or not. If you really looked at in the Bible's way, well there shouldn't be no war and stuff like that. But then if you looked into it, there was a war all the time and there's going to be war. Actually like going out and killing people, I don't see that as right.

14. Extent to which goals he envisions for his children, and training for them he approves, approximate those of the outside world rather than those of the Hutterite sect.

(high) I have raised them. They are 100 per cent American citizens. Where if I had raised them the colony way, they would exempt themselves from defending their country, but they would want the best of everything the country has. I have given them the knowledge of Christ and education. One of them has one of the best educations and the other has a big hardware store.

(low) I don't think I would raise them any differently than they do in the colony. I still think the children should obey their parents as they do in the colonies, strictly. And I feel that I am going to raise them the same way the people in the colonies raise them.

On Table 22 thirteen subjects fall below the cutting point of twenty-one scores, indicating poor adjustment to the American society. Ten of these are considered marginal and three tourists. Although the scores of the latter reflect poor adjustment to the outside world, the configurations of the individual indices were quite different from those of the marginals. For example, the tourists are not likely to attempt to gain acceptance by non-Hutterite "significant others," or to accept duties of citizenship or to be concerned about education. In contrast to the marginals, they are apt to feel satisfaction from the work they are doing and to be free of conflict of identity. The dominant characteristic distinguishing them from the marginals is their confidence and emotional acceptance of their social situation. The composite classifications of type of defector and degree of adjustment are presented in Table 23.

Marginality was found in each three categories: leaders' children, secular-oriented, and sacred-oriented defectors. On the whole, the children of leaders and the secular-oriented defectors from disorganized colonies have adjusted more satisfactorily than defectors from cohesive colonies or sacred-oriented defectors from disorganized colonies. The unhappy colony situation the secular-oriented defectors left appears to facilitate acceptance of permanent dislocation from it. In contrast, defectors from cohesive colonies waver between their two worlds. The marginality of one-half the sacred-oriented defectors indicates how difficult it is to disregard the pervasive secularity of modern society and to effect a syncretism between Hutterite and Mennonite beliefs. Five of the ten marginals are female. Fewer females than males defect and a higher proportion of them experience difficulty in adjusting.

The indicators presented in the above paragraphs, and the basis on which the defectors made their decisions will be examined in order.

The world of work

Locating a niche for themselves in the all-important occupational sphere was a problem of the first magnitude for the male defectors and the unmarried female defectors. For the first time in their lives, they had to find a way to provide themselves with the basic necessities. Of those asked this question, only three had more than $25 when they left. Most of them had only the clothes on their backs. If they couldn't find the basic necessities within a very short time, they had little choice but to return. In addition, a job was needed to permit the style of life, the clothes, the automobile, and entertainment that many of them felt deprived of on the colony. Others expected from a job a degree of personality fulfillment at least equivalent to that provided by the work they were accustomed to performing. Nearly all stated that they enjoyed their work in the colony but wanted some control over decisions made in the work situation and the fruits of their labor for their own use. The exceptions were the sons of leaders and female defectors who rejected the woman's role.

The adaptation of the defector to his new life was eased by a number of factors. Despite obvious differences between Hutterite and North American value systems, they share equivalent cultural values regarding the predominant place of work in one's life. One of the striking similarities of the Hutterite system to Calvinism, is their endorsement of the Protestant ethic. Work has sacred import. Its performance for the benefit of the community (rather than for the individual who stands isolated before the Deity) increases the likelihood of eternal salvation. The defector, then, is likely to already hold an acceptable view of work and a sense of responsibility for its thorough performance. Whereas he once worked to benefit the collectivity (assuming, of course, that he was properly socialized), he now works for his own benefit and to advance himself in this life. Moreover, we have already seen that, despite the official equalitarianism of the charter in all temporal goods, the idea of work as the basic foundation of the stratification system pervades both societies. It is not necessary for the Hutterite defector as it is, for example, for the Indian leaving his reservation, to unlearn inappropriate attitudes and behavior regarding work.

A second factor facilitating the deviants' job adjustment was the training and experience he received on the colony in farming and to a lesser extent, in such trades as mechanics and welding. When the problem was first considered, the difficulty defectors would encounter in locating farm jobs was overestimated. Since 54 per cent of them have found such permanent employment, the paucity of farm jobs was not as serious as anticipated. In addition, the contacts made through working for neighboring farmers under the colony's auspices were often utilized to locate jobs. Variations of this statement turned up many times. "I worked out enough before I left that the prospect of getting along in the outside world didn't worry me. I figured I could do anything I had to do on a farm." Twelve young men such as this defector arranged a job for themselves. Eleven found employment through the aid of relatives who had defected earlier or through acquaintances. For many, the knowledge acquired of the outside world included the function and location of the nearest employment office. Four defectors used this service to get their first job.

This continuity in work mitigated many potential strains. They often found a sympathetic farmer who treated them like a member of the family and gave them the companionship and support they needed. This protected them from being forced into an urban environment to compete for jobs which they were ill-prepared for and from being exposed to unsavory companions and the type of life available to the drifting unemployed. Only four defectors attempted to move directly from the colony into the city and two of them were supported by friends of long standing. Only three defectors were encumbered with the responsibility for dependents. Many had the support not only of friends but of ex-Hutterite family members. Eight solved their occupational problem by finding alternate "total institutions"--the armed forces, a residential Bible school--which provided them with both direction of behavior and companionship.

Many still have difficulties. Some found the work outside the colony much more arduous than that in the colony, where the pace is usually rather relaxed and there are many hands to get the job done. The single women had an especially difficult time supporting themselves. Their work on the colony provided them with very little to offer the labor market. The one married woman and the two single women who found jobs as housekeepers or babysitters were able to maintain some similarity between the tasks they performed in the colony and those necessary under new conditions. However, the other seven found themselves hoeing beets, working long hours in a laundry or cannery. Although many defectors found the attainment of some measure of freedom over their own behavior very gratifying, the realization that they alone were responsible for their welfare was a sobering one.

Degree of job satisfaction turned out to be a very reliable index of adjustment or marginality and it correlated highly with other indices employed. In general, those who are well adjusted are reasonably satisfied with the work they are doing. There is a tendency for them to find one position and/or one type of work which is reasonably satisfying and to remain there. Nevertheless, 32 per cent are actively engaged in obtaining more training or have made realistic plans for such a course of action. Alongside this realization of the value of education, there is in some a strong belief in their ability to advance themselves by their own efforts. Some of those in the well-adjusted group, particularly the sons of leaders, are extremely ambitious to acquire a farm or business of their own in order to be completely independent. Sacred-oriented defectors from a disorganized colony have a strong religious perspective on the type of work they consider appropriate and an acceptance of responsibility for mankind as a whole.

In general, the marginals have failed to derive satisfaction from their employment. Some have become entrapped in frustrating jobs which they feel permit them no more freedom from outside direction than they experienced on the colony. Many marginals have come to believe that the freedom supposedly found outside the colony is a myth. One such marginal man feels he has no choice but to work at low monetary return and virtually as a hired hand for his father-in-law. He is apathetic about taking any decisive action. Another, who was once reasonably happy with his lot, has been forced by an injury suffered on the job into involuntary retirement. He now has the leisure to contemplate the decision he made, fears becoming destitute, and is nostalgic about colony life. Two marginal housewives feel they could be much happier on the colony doing the same tasks they perform outside.

The occupational goals of some marginals are inherently contradictory. One is considering seriously and simultaneously becoming a college-educated mechanical engineer and returning to the colony. Another speaks of owning a farm of his own, working his way up through a machinery supply company, and returning to the colony. A third wants desperately to be a Mennonite and a Hutterite and thinks she can reconcile this disparity by returning to the colony as a missionary. Some marginals have set up for themselves goals which are far beyond that which they can reasonably attain. Others chafe under their present circumstances but are incapable of making plans which would extricate themselves. .

The tourists in our sample are, like the adjusted defectors, well satisfied with their present jobs. They look to the job as the means to acquire the automobile and the fun they seek before returning to the colony. They ask very little else of their jobs.

Affiliation with secondary organization

Initially, it was hypothesized that membership in secondary organizations would give some indication of the extent to which the defector participates in the activities of the outside world. We found, however, that only four defectors (two marginals, one tourist, and one adjusted) are associated with any secondary group beyond a church, a work organization or an educational institution (Table 24). This disinclination to join clubs, service organizations, lodges, etc. appears to reflect more the affiliative patterns prevalent in the social class to which they belong than their lack of adjustment to the broader society.

Political behavior

The political behavior of the defectors proved to be a somewhat more sensitive indicator. The majority of those whom we can categorize as well adjusted on the basis of the other factors under consideration, do vote and attempt to do so from well informed positions (Table 24). The marginals split down the middle on whether or not they have voted, and in general, those who have voted have extremely vague political opinions and slight interest in what is happening in the world beyond their personal sphere. The tourists do not vote or take an interest in political matters which are seen as remote from their immediate concerns. The replies fall into exactly the same pattern on the question of the morality of bearing arms. Only two of the well adjusted defectors are still pacifistic. The tourists, with one exception, are still convinced that bearing arms is wrong. Of the four marginals who are not pacifistic, two are women who are pacifistic themselves but feel it is right for others to act according to the dictates of their consciences. One was himself in the armed services and believes that colony boys should serve military service and then return to the colony. It is not the tendency of marginals to approve or disapprove of any one of these values that makes them a distinct group. Rather, they are unable to irrevocably commit themselves to either world view.

Religion

What is the defector's solution to his religious problem? Does he retain his primary religious orientation towards life? Does he experience any guilt feelings about having been unable or unwilling to remain within the boundaries of Hutterian religious restrictions?

As Table 25 shows, the churches chosen by defectors include the Mennonite Brethren, Free Methodist, Methodist, Assembly of God, Baptist, United, Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic. The two main factors influencing choice of church were the influence of the English school teacher and a non-Hutterite spouse.

Although only seven defectors acknowledge the influence of the English teacher, eighteen now belong to the church of the teacher who was regarded as their favorite and whose religious affiliation was known. Fifteen of these eighteen defectors originated in disorganized colonies which were less cautious than most in controlling the experiences to which their children were exposed. The attraction of the fundamentalist religious groups can be seen in their tendency to be interested in and assume some responsibility for their members in other spheres of their lives, and to promote fellowship and to engulf their members in a spiritually based community. The emotional fervor of these groups and their cultivation of an intensely personal relationship with the Deity seems to have provided something which the sacred-oriented defectors found lacking in their colony. The close involvement with the church and its program of activities during the week provides a source of companionship and support and compensates for their disinclination to join secular organizations.

The somewhat surprising membership of defectors in the Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches came about through pressure from their spouses who already belonged to these denominations. The man who joined the Anglican Church at his wife's suggestion is now considering joining the local Evangelical Church, and the two defectors who are affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church attend very infrequently.

Seven defectors do not belong to any church. Three of the seven are tourists who are strongly committed to the Hutterite religion. The other four fall within the category of adjusted rather than marginal and all four originated in disorganized colonies. While they believe in the existence of God and an afterlife, their religious orientation is weak.

On the basis of the presence or absence of spontaneous answers to questions which could be given religious connotations, such as their goals for themselves, the nature of the upbringing they plan for their children, and the overtones of the entire interview considered in conjunction with direct questions about their religious behavior and practices, an evaluation was made of the strength of their religious orientation towards life. Religion was judged to hold a strong place in the value system of twelve defectors. It is still an all-pervading concern of their lives. It held a medium place in the value system of ten respondents. Religion still plays quite an important role in their outlook but it has been joined by secular values of equal importance to them. It plays a weak role for twelve defectors. They will give the expected answers if pressed but they are much more concerned with other matters. Religion enters the conversation only in response to pointed questions.

Six of the twelve with strong religious values include the sacred-oriented defectors from the disorganized colony. Only two of the twelve originated in a cohesive colony and the colony of one of these later became disorganized. Four of the twelve are sons of leaders. Six of the twelve are marginal men and another two were marginal for an extended period many years ago. Both of the latter were burdened with guilt until they found churches which offered them alternate solutions. None of the tourists fall into this category. The non-membership reference group to which these people with strong religious convictions became oriented was a religious group. It is therefore more realistic to speak of adjustment to spheres and segments of society rather than adjustment to a society in its entirety.

Four of the ten with medium religious orientation came from disorganized colonies and four had leaders for fathers. Ten of the thirteen with weak religious orientation came from disorganized colonies and four had leaders for fathers. The three tourists had medium religious orientation. They were not interested in participating in religious groups of the outside world nor were they perplexed about religious problems. The colony to which they would eventually return held the solution for them.

While the utilization of religious attitudes as an indicator of adjustment was less definitive than we had hoped, there is a greater tendency for the well-adjusted defectors to hold medium to weak religious orientation than there is for marginal defectors. The religious behavior of the tourists is different from both of the other types.

Method of rearing own children

The defectors' replies to the question of how they intend their own children to be raised were significantly different for the well-adjusted, the marginals, and the tourists. The adjusted, who have permanently committed themselves to their new life, for the most part, felt that their children should be reared in the same way as other Canadian and American children. Above all, they were to be educated. Such defectors wanted them to do and have those things which they felt had been denied them on the colony. Again and again, they stated they felt home life on the colony is neglected and the children suffer from lack of parental attention. The women in particular intend to devote personal attention to their own offspring. A second theme running through these replies is their conviction that children must be taught to think for themselves. A quarter of them mention religious upbringing.

The tourists intend that any children they may have will be born of a Hutterite mother and brought up on the colony according to traditional Hutterite ways.

The conflicts in the value systems of the marginals show up very clearly in the methods they approve for rearing children. One man who is on the periphery of both groups simply replied that if they should chance to be born in the colony, they would be brought up as Hutterites; if they are born on the outside, they must grow up to be outsiders. Many others seem less conscious of their vacillating position. Some believe the colony does the best possible job of raising their young. Yet, at the same time they want them to have a modern education or military training. They hope their children will then become, as adults, colony people.

Being forced to project into the future seems to involve for the marginals a painful confrontation with their problems. They resist doing so. They are understandably reluctant to talk about hypothetical children. When the interviewer probes for an answer, it is often a vague reply, such as "I would bring them up decent" or "I would feed them." The subject of marriage and children is a very crucial one for single defectors tottering on the brink between their two worlds for they know that marriage to an outsider would intensify their commitment to the outside world. Married marginals find themselves torn between the desire to return to the colony and devotion to their spouses, who could hardly be expected to find contentment there.

Motivation to belong

Our experience in attentping to operationalize adjustment has led us to see the wisdmof Frazier's (1957: 316) statement that "Assimilation involves something more than acculturation or the acquisition of the language, moral and religious ideas and patterns of behavior of the dominant group. Assimilation includes a subjective element--identification with the members of the new society."

In general, the more successful defectors experience little conflict of identity; initially they had sound motivation for leaving the colony; they had realistic plans concerning what they expected to accomplish outside, and are quite convinced of the advantages of the outside world compared with the colony. In contrast, the marginals are perplexed about whether or not they are Hutterites. They left the colony under the influence of others (husband, elder sisters, or the necessity of joining the armed forces or a conscientious objectors' camp), or under the influence of a whim or minor altercation. They no longer know what they are doing outside the warm fellowship of the colony, have formulated no realistic plans for the future, and can find nothing outside which appeals to them more than what the colony offers them. "Marginality is less likely to persist when there is strong motivation to achieve full membership in the new group and to abandon the old." (Newcomb 1950: 539). The tourists left to satisfy their curiosity and enjoy themselves before returning to the colony. They have not abandoned their commitment to the Hutterite philosophy. Aside from occasional bouts with guilt, they are under no personality strain because they intend to return to the colony, where they expect to receive, after ritual absolution, forgiveness for their defection and full acceptance as responsible adult Hutterites.

The well adjusted defectors have strong motivation to fit into the outside world, partly because they are convinced if has more to offer them than the colony. Either the initial "pull" or the initial "push" from the colony was sufficiently powerful both to see them through the transitional phase and to eliminate any future doubt as to the advisability of the decision made. Some of the leaders' sons were convinced that no available job on the colony could satisfy their requirements for status and freedom of action. Before they took the decisive step, they knew they could not accommodate themselves to their situation. Those in the low status groups felt that the future held only unfair treatment. Many of the well adjusted left behind them a history of conflict and bitter interpersonal relationships. In comparison to emigrants from Europe to North America, who put an ocean between themselves and their countrymen and who literally could not go home, the Hutterites are usually only a few hundred miles from their family and friends. They must substitute psychological distance for geographical distance if they are to remain away permanently.

Relationship with non-Hutterites

It was hypothesized that satisfactory and permanent adjustment to the outside world was positively related to the establishment there of sustained, intimate, primary relationships. It was felt that if the colony was indeed tolerant of defectors and permitted them to visit their families and friends, that the defector who failed to establish satisfying relationships outside would return. A marginal defector would be subject to multiple reference groups operating at cross purposes. Reference groups of a secondary nature on the outside would compete with primary reference groups on the colony. The gregarious nature of communal living and the lack of experience in self-reliance appeared to make defectors exceptionally dependent on enduring affective relationships. In addition to protecting them from the loneliness to which they are so vulnerable, such primary relationships (wherever they could be found) would act as acculturation agents.

The analysis supports this hypothesis (See Table 24). Inability to identify with "significant others" entered prominently into the motivation of the many deserters who do return home. The majority of the well adjusted defectors have established close and satisfying relationships with non-Hutterites.

Those few that have not are involved in a network of relationships with ex-Hutterites as a group. On the whole, outsiders have been sympathetic and helpful to the individual defector. In some cases, this positive attitude may represent their approval of them as the vanguards of change they desire.

The tourists have many acquaintances but no close friends. The marginals are likely to name their spouse as their only friend. The woman who wants to be a Mennonite and a Hutterite believes outsiders would betray her. She replied, "Christ is my best friend." They have retained their suspicion of outsiders, instilled into them during the socialization process. They complain of loneliness and miss the companionship of the colony. The one close relationship they are involved in, that with their non-Hutterite husband or wife, is at the crux of their marginality. They cannot expect a non-Hutterite to be happy on the colony even if the colony is willing to accept them both. Yet, they cannot make the decision to permanently reject the Hutterite heritage.

Relationship with other defectors

In the research design we asked whether defectors formed a tightly knit group or a scattered aggregate, whether ex-Hutterites formed a group, and whether as a reference group they reinforced the individual defector's decision to remain away.

While nearly all defectors are cognizant of the geographical location of other ex-Hutterites, their small number coupled with wide geographic scattering rules out the formation of an organized sub-group. (There are, of course, a few anathematized colonies but defectors have rarely been attracted to them.) Only one-third of the sample of 37 maintain no close contact with other ex-Hutterites and half of these are tourists. However, the majority of the close relationships are with siblings and spouses and seem to reflect the maintenance of family ties rather than concerted effort to form distinctive sub-groupings with others in their unique position. There is some tendency for defectors originating in the same colony to keep in touch.

The fact that most who remained away more than a year had intimate relationships to sustain them seems significant. Of those who did not make "good" in the outside world, there is evidence that they did not have the support of other defectors. Both the adjusted and the marginals are involved in relationships with other ex-Hutterites but their relationships served divergent functions.

Defector's attitude towards the colony

Replies to the interview questions designed to tap attitudes towards the colony revealed that only the tourists looked for reasons within themselves for their atypical position. They take the official Hutterite point of view on most matters and approve wholeheartedly of every aspect of the system. The sacred-oriented defectors express affection and concern for the people they left behind. They expressed compassion for the colony people, since they feel they are not Christians. Despite their treatment after their conversion to another faith and the cold reception they receive when they visit their relatives, these people do not evidence hostility towards their colony. However, we did find evidence of "reaction formation" or "compulsive alienation" in secular-oriented defectors from disorganized colonies. Those defectors who held low status in such colonies tend to be extremely critical of the Hutterite system generally, and of the leadership on their own colony. They protest the dissension, the hypocrisy, the nepotism, and the unfair treatment they received. One such defector sued his colony for back wages, but without success. Well adjusted defectors from cohesive colonies are able to make an intellectual appraisal of those aspects of the colony they find distasteful. This ability to make a stoic comparison usually increases with the passage of time.

The marginals either can find nothing to criticize in the system which they have idealized or believe it would be a perfect way to live if only the colony accepted various innovations from the outside world, innovations which in reality would destroy its very foundations. Some of these suggested innovations were introduction of higher education, military training, a competing religious theology, mass-media entertainment, and modern clothing.

Only four defectors do not visit their own and/or other colonies. The well adjusted are motivated by a desire to see their parents, relatives, and friends, but show no nostalgia for the way of life they have put behind them. This latter consideration seems to enter partially into the reason for the marginals being drawn back again and again. For the most part, the colony permits such intercourse with close relatives but such contacts receive little recognition and involvement in the colony as a whole.

Attitude of the colony towards the defector

The individual who is indifferent toward his own reference group generally brings harm to the group (Wolf 1950: 95), and the individual who repudiates his group can expect hostile responses (Merton 1957: 270). How does the colony respond to any such "harm" to its corporate image and does the defector experience hostile responses? Are defectors made objects of vilification and punished when they return in order to discourage future escapes or mass experimentation of "a fling with the world"?

The Hutterite response, as in many facets of behavior, is atypical to known sociological patterns. Two dominant methods emerge from our field observations: the use of extraordinary authoritarian measures to bring run-aways back into the colony and lack of hostile barriers for receiving the defector back into the colony.

Colony leaders have been known to take extraordinary measures to bring initial defectors back to the colony. In one case a newly married couple got on a train and traveled a thousand miles. When they arrived at their destination point two Hutterite preachers were on hand at the railway station to "catch" them. With the help of the railway ticket agent the colony preacher had discovered the destination of the couple and the time of their arrival. He in turn went by plane to their destination and by telephone arranged for the assistance of another preacher to help meet the situation. Hotel rooms were secured in the city, where the preachers "lectured" to the couple for three days. While this case seems to illustrate the extreme type of measures taken, we know of many other cases where coercion and persuasion were used. Telegrams from the colony to the run-aways containing a message of critical illness in the family have also been effective in bringing the runaway back. Such measures are in keeping with the absolutism of the moral charter and the norms governing other aspects of behavior.

The other inducement is simply that deviants are welcomed back inasmuch as human nature is sinful and compassion must be shown to those who wander off the "narrow path." The occasional family may be prejudiced against the return of a defector, but the colony never blocks the way. There is a great effort on the part of the colony to reintegrate the runaway without permanent penalty, and we know that some of the most ardent leaders today were at one time runaways who returned. Defectors of long standing are not discouraged from visiting their families. A female who left the colony forty years ago regularly returns from a large Eastern city to visit relatives in the colony. Great physical distances do not sever the kinship ties which are so important to the Hutterite family. Those who do visit their relatives are often invited to return. Unless the defector has attacked the colony in some way, hope is never abandoned that he will return to his rightful home.

Of the 37 interviewees in the sample, not one was deterred from returning to his colony of origin by fears of possible punishment which might be meted out to him if he returned. There are punishments to be sure, but they were not considered insurmountable by the defectors we interviewed. Only two felt that they would be permanently stigmatized for their desertion. No Hutterite is ever banned from the colony even if excommunicated from the church. The only conceivable situation where a person could not be retained on a colony, in the opinion of one preacher, is a person who committed murder There is no known case.

The emotional willingness to receive the defector back into the fellowship of the colony is illustrated in a portion of a community prayer: "If someone has left the path of truth because of weakness of the spirit or has left Thee for lack of wisdom, we pray that Thou mightest raise him up again and strengthen him so that he can return and abide with the faithful ones, thus increasing the number of thy saints." Emotion is also aptly illustrated in a poem written by a Hutterite preacher to his deserting son who had joined the armed services. Translated, part of it reads:

Hark to the sweet call,
"Oh weary soul, come home."
Turn from your course in life
Lest you perish.

Christ invites you to the feast
Spread tonight for the Lamb.
You, too, may come--just as you are.
Just come and turn away from your sin.

Come children gone astray,
Look at the son once lost
And behold the welcome
Which the Father has prepared for you.

The beast was slaughtered
And made ready for the feast
While high in Heaven
Angel'hosts rejoiced.

Marginality

Robert E. Park (1927: 28) in his initial formulation of the concept of marginality states that the period of crisis of the marginal person is relatively permanent. Our findings, however, support Johnson's (1960: 79) viewpoint that "the marginal situation . . . cannot long be endured in its pristine state and that it constitutes, in the words of Erich Fromm, 'an unbearable situation which would make life impossible if it were prolonged . . .' The category, 'marginal man,' will tend to be a very dynamic, transitional one for any given individual, one from which he will usually endeavor to move."

Many of the defectors who had not in the manner of their departure alienated themselves from the colony, experienced marginality for the first year or so. They wavered between two worlds and felt at home in neither.

> Yes, I felt pretty strange. Strangeness came from the fact that I never knew much about what was over the fence. I had no place other than to get to ______ and I didn't know where to go. I wouldn't have known where to go beyond _____.

> When you would go to town, you wonder what people think. They kind of look at you in a different way. You talk different and stuff like that. They probably still do but I don't know.

> I don't think I felt like a stranger. I was lost!

> Getting out of a colony is like getting out of prison. You never had too much to do with outside things so it really is a little hard for you. It's quite a change. You got to do your own planning and everything. In there you had a boss to tell you what to do. Out here, you act on your own.

Gradually the marginal Hutterite makes a place for himself and acquires confidence in his ability to succeed; tantalizing thoughts of returning to the colony fade away. His salient identity becomes Canadian or American.

For two of the defectors who are now well adjusted, the period of marginality was much prolonged. One who left at sixteen remained marginal for twenty years. Although he was riddled with guilt for worrying his parents, he did not tell the colony where he was for thirty-three years. When one of his jobs took him into farm lands, (far from his colony of origin), he saw a Hutterite wagon approaching and hid himself under the hay lest he be recognized. He moved around the United States from one menial job to another. He experimented with many religions in rapid succession. When war came, he served in the armed forces and met and married an older woman. He kept his background concealed from her for many years. With the support of his wife and the peace that a new-found religion provided him, he took control of the direction of his life, went to college under the G. I. Bill, and became financially prosperous. At his wife's insistence, they visited his colony. He was saddened to find his parents dead, but the experience allayed the guilt he had suffered. The reality of the situation was much less than he had expected. Once and for all, he lost his feeling that he might eventually return. A second defector enjoyed his new life and wanted to become a permanent part of it but felt he must inevitably return. Again the support of a non-Hutterite wife and a religion which promised him an alternate outlook gave him peace of mind.

Marginality seems to vary in intensity as well as duration. The person can experience it as a somewhat troublesome strain or as a conflict which dominates his life. Those we have categorized as marginals generally fall somewhere between these two extremes. They have not reacted to it by becoming mentally ill, alcoholics, or by criminal acts against society. The most common reaction is apathy. Some will resolve their tension by eventually abandoning one alternative. One has already sought a solution in a totalitarian religious group.

It has been pointed out by Stonequist, Park, and others that his position gives the marginal man a unique opportunity to be creative. None of the defectors who were marginal or are now marginal appear to have had extraordinary constructive or creative responses.

Summary

This summary contains the findings of Part III. Thirty-seven of 62 known living Hutterite defectors were interviewed. The total number of living persons who permanently defected from all Hutterite colonies is unknown, but a reasonable estimate would be less than 100. Using this figure, the ratio of defection would be one to every 90 persons (age 15 or over). Ten of the 37 interviewees were females.

Many of the defectors had qualities of personality which made their colony situation unpalatable to them. They had interests, which their colony environment could not satisfy. Such recalcitrance often developed surprisingly early. One defector said, "I remember when I was about ten, I said out loud one day that some day I would leave the colony. I got the tanning of my life that time." The Hutterite system rests on the priority of the group over the individual. Hutterites talk a great deal about the unquestioning acceptance of authority and the necessity of breaking one's will. Most of the defectors clearly resented this self-abnegation and submersion of their individuality. Nearly all, even the tourists, relish the freedom they experience outside. Those who have adjusted feel emancipated and look forward to making their own mistakes and discovering what kind of people they are. Many defectors are very strong willed, rebellious individuals who still evidence signs of anti-authoritarianism and self-determination. Most are basically very confident. The children of leaders are, for the most part, of this type. One-third of the defectors report having a great deal of trouble getting along with the other people on the colony. One individual was an isolate on the colony and has remained one since leaving. The defectors had an overpowering curiosity to see what lay on the other side of the fence.

The defectors expressed dissatisfaction with prescribed work roles, the desire for self-determination, and the desire for more education. An alternative was available to them. The channels of communication through which knowledge of the outside world was acquired were several--the English school teacher, friendship with and employment by non-Hutterite neighbors, and interaction with returning or visiting ex-Hutterites, particularly close relatives. The influence of representatives of non-membership reference groups were augmented by visitors from the outside, such as doctors, salesmen, agricultural experts, and inquisitive specialists. Various factors within their family situation--membership in families of low status, close relationship of defectors to leaders both of cohesive and disorganized colonies, and atypical parents (in Hutterite terms) were significant.

Defection is clearly associated with a few nuclear families, most of whom live in "disorganized" colonies. While all colonies have the problem of maintaining a balance of power between the colony and that of the extended family, serious problems of social disorganization associated with desertion occur only in a few of the colonies. The leadership in the colony and the state of colony cohesion emerge as important factors associated with the rate of defection from the colony.

Defectors from the Hutterites to affiliated and competing communal groups in North America were not included in the sample of the defectors interviewed.

Adjustment was found to be related to job satisfaction, enduring primary relationships with non-Hutterites and with other ex-Hutterites confident in their decision and committed to the values of the outside world. Adjustment was positively related to the lack of guilt on religious grounds and location of an acceptable solution to the religious problem, to sound motivation for leaving the colony, to accurate perception of life outside and realistic appraisal of difficulties to be faced, and to awareness of the advantage the outside world offered.

It was found more meaningful to talk of adjustment to the values of significant reference individuals representing segments of society than of adjustment to such nebulous entity as the Canadian or American society. Two-thirds of the sample eventually succeeded in making satisfactory adjustment to the larger society. However, such adjustment does not come without serious prolonged periods of unresolved problems, and some defectors are marginal men. The case histories gave some insight into how such difficulties are experienced. Furthermore, such difficulties are minimized by the fact that the sample is composed of the residue of those who have tried the experiment. The extent of marginality may be understated because marginal people are more likely to refuse to be interviewed. Most of the defectors who emerged from a radically different background were capable of finding a niche for themselves in the larger society. Many of the defector's experiences in the colony helped prepare him for satisfactory adjustments after he left the colony.

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

CHAPTER 13. INDUCTIVE GENERALIZATIONS

The objectives of this investigation as stated at the outset were: (1) to formulate the charter or moral postulates of the society, (2) to observe and describe the socialization methods in the community, and (3) to discover the social characteristics of the persons who defect from this communal society. The main objective was to advance knowledge of the methods of moral training in the Hutterian communal society and factors associated with deviation from the moral teachings in this communal group. Summaries were presented following Part I, within each chapter or section in Part II, and following Part III in Chapter 12. In this final chapter the conclusions will be stated in the form of inductive generalizations. Reference will also be made to previous research on the Hutterites and on other systems of communal socialization.

The charter

The analysis of the traditional charter of the group was presented in Part I of this report. The manner in which the traditional charter functions in the life of the Bruderhof is described in the chapters dealing with authority patterns, spatial patterns, and temporal patterns of the sample colonies observed. Differences between the traditional charter and the contemporary interpretations of the charter have been recognized in the descriptions. Important aspects of the charter which form the content of the moral indoctrination of the members are the following:

1. Absolute authority resides in a single supernatural being, an omnipotent God, who created the universe and placed everything in a divine order and hierarchy. All events are ordered of God and no man can cause anything to happen. The authority of God is transferred into the authority of the Gemein and is never wholly given to a single individual.

2. Human nature is perverse (through the disobedience of man) and desires recognition, self-ownership, and carnal pleasure. The individual can never overcome the sinful and carnal tendency on earth, but it can be mastered by believing the Word, repentance, receiving the gift of Christ, and by continuous and daily surrender of the self to the will of God in communal living.

3. Communal living is the will of God, while individual ownership of property is the desire of the carnal nature All who receive the gift of Christ will live in full community, sharing material as well as spiritual life, and thus be restored to the right or divine order and have the hope of eternal life. Fallen or carnal man lives in disobedience and covetousness where property, food, land, and water are owned by individuals for private gain.

4. Primary and central in the universe is the community of love, [the Hutterian Brethren Church] and the reason for the continuation of the universe.

True Christians live in community and are known by their obedience by living communally. Only in a supernaturally created fellowship can men succeed in living communally, and only in this way can God be properly honored.

5. Communal welfare takes precedence over individual pleasures. All Hutterian institutions and ceremonial observances are structured by communitarian values. Self-surrender, not self-assertion, is the will of God. The communal will, not the individual will, is the will of God. The good of the majority governs the stages of life from birth to death.

6. Separation of the Hutterian Church from the carnal world is the will of God, and the diligent instruction, nurture, and purification of the gathered community is the main duty of the Church since no person is free from the tendency to serve his carnal inclinations.

Authority, hierarchy, submission of the individual to the community, and separation from the carnal order are pervasive in the sample colonies observed. Authority is learned in infancy and acknowledged on the death bed of the aged. Supernatural authority is incarnated in the colony authority. Authority is acknowledged as a virtue. Authority induces order and a supernaturally sanctioned hierarchy. The universe is conceived as hierarchial, with one part always submissive to the other. The lower serves and obeys the higher. Thus man's relation to the physical world (property) and to others is sanctioned by God only if the divine order is recognized and maintained by man. God is over man. Males are over females. A husband is over his wife, a father over his son, and man is over animals.

The dualistic view of human nature is pervasive in the social organization of the colonies and becomes the focal point for indoctrination and training for all ages. In the two natures, the spiritual versus the carnal, the reason for separation from the world and of submission of the ego becomes clear: The self will is the natural expression of the carnal, perverse, or fallen nature of man, while submission to the communitarian way is the will of God and the restoration to the right or divine order. From this view it follows that separation from the world including physical and geographic isolation become the will of God. Submission or Gelassenheit is institutionalized in the activities of the society. The knowledge of God is sufficient and opposed to the knowledge of man. Hence undirected intellectualism is part of the carnal order. Learning takes the form of association-response rather than the development of the logical processes.

The charter is characterized by great internal consistency and is unusually explicit about the beliefs, norms, goals, and subgoals acceptable within the culture. The charter is the authority to which problems of social behavior are referred and it is interpreted by the highest ranking member of the social hierarchy. Its words and teaching are believed to be supernaturally inspired and supernaturally supported. Aspects of the charter are taught to the children from birth on and are repeated daily throughout the life of the individual for the continual indoctrination of every member of the society. In spite of the emphasis on words and verbal teaching, theology (as logical thought) is unimportant, and logical thinking and reasoned solutions are applicable only in the economic field. All the rest of life is highly ritualized and beliefs are constantly expressed on a sub-verbal level symbolizing the deification of the social unity (the colony).

The Hutterite belief in an ordered, hierarchial universe is expressed physically in their colonies by the spacial patterns common to each colony, temporally in patterns that are ritualistically so rich that there is almost no place for innovation, and in authority patterns that take into account age, sex, and ability.

These observations substantiate those of Deets (1939: 16) who emphasized the "central beliefs" as the unifying characteristic of the group, the community as a supernaturally created and sustained entity, and the person as possessing an "authority centered mentality." Patterns of practical living assume a greater role in life than does critical thinking or the practice of personal piety. The need for response and companionship or even communication with the deity is ritualized rather than personalized. Thus the religious practices of the Hutterites coheres and does not become a means of status differentation by pitting one individual against a fellow member. Heaven is not envisioned as a place of conspicuous consumption, of streets made of gold, or of personal wish fulfillment, but a place where all are obedient, where there is no longer any inclination toward carnality, no hostile outside world but perfect communal living in the highest order of God.

Socialization

Socialization is consistent in all age groups. Explicit behavior is demanded at each stage and the ultimate goal is made clear. Socialization is also continuous in the clearly defined stages, and there is no relaxation from contact with communitarian values.

Every individual is subserviant to society (the colony) at every stage of his life. During the first three years the baby learns to enjoy people and to respond positively to them. During the next three years the weaning away from his family starts in earnest and he learns to accept authority in virtually any form. During his school years he is further weaned from his family, learns more about authority, and learns much of the verbal content of his religion. However, his ability to identify with his peer group is socially the most important advance. During the years between school and baptism the individual identifies even more closely with his peer group. When an individual requests baptism, his self-image expands to include not just his age-mates, but the whole colony, thus he now identifies with society.

The Hutterite appraisal of human nature is functional. Hutterites believe that the individual is not and cannot be perfect. He must constantly guard against "sin" (transgressions against the rules of society.) In contrast to this, the group can be perfect if the individuals who make it up do not express their inclination to "sin" behaviorally. In other words, if they participate fully in the group ritual.

For a small, face-to-face group, social control is highly structured and elaborate. Informal controls of themselves do not govern the society. There is a bureaucratic organization whose main function is the smooth economic function of the colony, but this organization is virtually inseparable from the religious hierarchy for the universe is an indivisible unit kept in order by humans who properly serve the deity. The face-to-face group of the colony is the unit of Hutterite society.

The biological family is not a unit of society. Its function is to produce new souls and to care for immature individuals in areas not specifically under the direction of the colony. Husband-wife and parent-child relationships are carefully delimited and institutionalized in such a way that the strength of the family does not supercede that of the colony. In this the position and role of women is crucial. Women are believed to be inferior to men physically, intellectually, and emotionally and therefore they must obey and follow their husbands. Thus marriage is patrilocal. Through marriage women unite (or form a link between) different extended families and simultaneously divide tightly integrated extended families by introducing a divergent set of loyalties. The woman is oriented more toward her family of procreation than to her family of orientation although she maintains a loyalty to and a relationship with her parents and her brothers and sisters. She supports her husband in his developing leadership within the colony, even when he is in competition with her brother, and she always supports her grown sons. The man tends to maintain a deeper loyalty to his family of orientation that to his family of procreation. The differing loyalties of the husband and wife function to prevent the nuclear family from becoming too strong. Any aggression the wife may feel against her husband for his seeming lack of emotional support is channeled against the men in general and helps maintain a division between the male subculture and female subculture that functions to minimize sexual intrigue in a society that lives in close physical proximity. The woman's loyalty to the woman's subculture also weakens the emotional importance of the nuclear family in much the same way the man's identification with the colony as a whole supercede and thus weakens his personal identification with his wife and children.

The Hutterite is socialized to be obedient, submissive, and dependent on human support and human contact. The individual Hutterite is never alone and rarely lonely.

The goals for each stage of socialization are attainable by virtually all Hutterites. The degree of success of the socialization process is phenomenal. A certain amount of deviance of an acceptable type is permitted to each stage and relieves the system of stiffling rigidity. Adolescence is well handled in that meaningful family and work responsibility are associated with becoming an adult.

Individuals have clearly defined roles, are well trained to fill them, and are rewarded by the smooth execution of their work and by the awareness that their contribution is needed by their society. Women are relieved of being isolated in a world of diapers and very young children. In exchange for relinquishing much of her control over the child, the mother achieves a permanent relationship and some direction over her children for as long as she lives (and even into eternity). The men channel their drives, ' their discontent, and their need for self-expression into their work. Frequent branching prevents competition from becoming too intense by altering the leadership pattern and opening up new leadership positions. Women, and to a lesser degree men, who may be concerned about interpersonal relations, may escape into Anfechtung (Kaplan and Plaut 1956: 67), which gives them an opportunity to be reassured of their individuality. Even though the individual is de-emphasized there are means throughout the culture to meet special needs.

Although their material culture is limited, all of the sample colonies have a firm economic base. Although emotional responses are somewhat muted, the Hutterite finds life meaningful and emotionally rewarding. He knows why he is alive, and how he should live, and subjectively he feels able to meet the standard.

The social structure of the colony is a face-to-face Gemeinschaft group not only in sacred relationships but in all human relationships. The most significant social unit, the colony, is a clearly distinguishable primary group, consisting of an association where everyone knows every other person well. Even though the localized, self-perpetuating colonies have all the informal and folk qualities of the primary group, they also demonstrate a highly developed rational-bureaucratic organization. The socialization process has the environmental setting of marked informal controls as well as rational controls.

The conditions and methods of socialization in the communal society of the Hutterites include the following unique aspects:

1. Hutterite socialization is achieved by the resources of a total world view that is consistent with the activities within it, rather than by a special school, curriculum, or a single social institution.

2. Hutterite socialization is achieved in a supernaturally-oriented authority system characterized by absolutism. All other elements of knowledge, motivation, and roles are related to a single source of authority and subordinated to it. No segment of knowledge remains unrelated to the supernatural source of power or is allowed to develop aside from this source of authority.

3. Hutterite socialization is achieved in a time relationship that includes the temporal as well as the eternal and active participation and rewards in both through a balanced ritualization of secular and sacred activity.

4. Hutterite socialization is achieved in a spatial relationship that contains all of the social institutions, activities, and economic resources needed by the individual to achieve the goals of the society; interaction with and dependency upon outsiders is minimized.

5. Hutterite socialization is achieved by assigning expectations to clearly defined age stages with goals that are attainable and with incentives for achieving the next higher age stages. Deviation of an acceptable type is permitted in each age stage and absolute conformity by the individual is never achieved nor required.

6. Hutterite socialization is constant and continuous from infancy through old age in all age categories and there is no relaxatinn from contact with communal values.

7. Dependency patterns are established in infancy; the "house child" alternates between a socially stimulating environment and being alone when his cries go unheard. Aloneness is associated with unpleasant experiences and being with others is associated with pleasant experiences. As a small child his universe is unpredictable but as he takes part in communal activities his universe becomes highly predictable.

8. From a period of attention and affection in infancy the child enters a period of rejection with the entrance into kindergarten. Here he learns to be

without his parents during long intervals and to be rewarded by them when he conforms to the communal pattern. In this peer group he is treated with impartiality and often feels thwarted and experiences boredom. The socialization processes in kindergarten effectively minimize the development of confidence in self and establish dependency patterns.

9. School age children receive limited companionship from their parents, learn effectively how their peer group protects and punishes, learn to accept frustrations passively, to enjoy hard physical labor, and to accept with mild pleasure the chastisement of pain and punishment. The authority pattern that gives precedent to age has been internalized and the school child knows when and whom to obey.

10. The child becomes an adult at the age of (14) 15, and is appropriately rewarded with responsibility, privileges, clothing, and items for personal use. Greater recognition of individuality is permitted in social life, in colony position, and in greater companionship and acceptance within the family. Although adolescents are permitted to test the boundaries, disrespect for authority, poor work performance, and anti-social behavior are not tolerated.

11. Individuality is acknowledged in socially approved ways, permitted at certain stages more than others, and channeled into the welfare of the whole colony. Individual skills in work, penmanship, and crafts are acknowledged and utilized by the colony institutions.

12. The transition from childhood to adulthood is pronounced and rewarded by appropriate changes in status, work, and use of property. Early peer group socialization effectively minimizes the concept of individual ability and the development of confidence in the self.

13. The "family" of the individual is the colony and only outside of the family of orientation can the individual find significant identification and membership.

14. Self and society are coextensive in many aspects of the communal life in that persons use "I" instead of "we" when referring to a plurality of persons.

15. A significant sense of selfhood is an intimate knowledge of the age-ranking of one's peers. Meaning of the self is obtained in relation to one's position in the whole.

16. Personal security is attained only by conformity to the welfare of the group, its demanding schedule, its definitions of all social situations and problems, and participation in the constantly reinforcing rituals of the colony.

17. The personal goals for living in the communal group are an eternal one through the submission of individual will, a temporal one that the colony will be successful, and a social one that through the perpetuation of the ark (the colony) other souls will also reach eternal life.

Deviation and defection

The Hutterites, like virtually every society, have deviant members. No society is capable of fully "taming" its members and maintaining complete conformity to its ideals and norms (Benedict 1946: 254). The original assumption of this investigation was that the Hutterites accomplish remarkable success in achieving total conformity and that child training and socialization patterns account for their success. Even though the Hutterites achieve an almost unparalleled record, the question was asked at the outset of this investigation, "Under what conditions does the collective-oriented personality deviate from the moral teachings in a communal group?" What can be learned about the small margin of persons who are not successfully socialized in the group?

This section, on the conclusions of Hutterite deviancy patterns, indicates how very successful the Hutterite training system is in producing individuals who are capable of achieving the goals of their society. Their extraordinary accomplishments in socialization directly affect the number and types of mental illness experienced by the group (Eaton 1955: 45-54). The effect of their socialization is a cohesive society (Deets 1939) with persistence patterns exhibited in an extraordinary manner (Serl 1964: 132-162). Defection and deviation from the moral teachings of the society take the following forms:

1. Over-emphasis of the individual constitutes a danger.

The Hutterite society can be maintained only if the individual is completely submissive to colony authority. It is a rare accident that in a well integrated colony one individual will receive too much personal attention. Usually this is an early symptom of colony disintegration. Occasionally, a favorite child in a high status family will receive sufficient personal attention that he develops the self-confidence and strong self-identification needed to enable him to enjoy decision making and to have the strength to leave the protective environment of the colony. This relationship is vaguely understood by some Hutterites who say that if you are too good to a single child he is more likely to leave.

The favored child, the one given attention or privilege above the others in the family or colony, develops self-confidence and security above others of his peers. These individual interests develop into personality needs beyond what the colony can provide. A child that does not experience the same rejection as his peers will not be frightened by problems that require imagination and individual solution. Parents who entertain ideals or goals for a child beyond that sanctioned by the colony, increase the probability of his dissatisfaction and defection. A father of a deviant who wanted his son to become a civil engineer entertained non-Hutterite goals for him. Another father wanted his son to become the English school teacher on the colony (a goal not attained by others on the colony) "so the colony would not need to pay for a teacher."

There is the rare problem of the unusually able leader who steps outside the limits of the colony (usually intellectually) and unconsciously paves the way for subsequent deviation within the colony. This is an instance of a specialized type of over-emphasis on the individual.

2. A breakdown in the balance of power between the biological (extended) family and the colony is a major weakness and can result in colony disorganization.

This is the most frequent first symptom of colony breakdown, and the first step to disintegration. Too strong a husband-wife relationship may lead to a strong nuclear family which in turn may over-emphasize the individual child. When children are treated as separate personalities, individualism is developed which constitutes a threat to the colony. Individualism must not be introduced into a collective society if it is to operate functionally. Even if an emphasis on the individual does not develop, the extended family may become the focus for loyalty instead of the colony.

The Hutterites have no institutionalized means for most women to take leadership positions in the colony. Therefore, when Hutterite women become powerful in intra-colony politics, it is usually through an emphasis on the extended family rather than on the good of the colony as a whole and eventually leads to disintegration. Therefore, when a preacher or a householder is said to be strict it generally means that he is strict in keeping women in their place. Within the present Hutterite culture this contributes to the smooth functioning of the colony as a unit for it protects the society from self-centered, competing, extended families.

3. A moral breakdown of the colony structure can result from leadership failure, indirectly leading to greater latitude in permissive deviancy and defection.

If the colony is already factionalized into competing extended families, there is little even a strong, capable leader can do to correct the situation other than to attempt to lead with a strong hand and to plan for an early branching. If an incapable leader is selected, the total structure may carry the colony through; if the minister is "weak" and the householder and second minister are "strong" the momentum of the colony can usually pull the colony through this period of weak leadership. Similarly most cohesive colonies can survive the tenure of a poor householder if the other members of the council are capable leaders. In some cases the council of ministers of the Leut steps in to mitigate the situation. This may be supportative and remedial. If the colony is already experiencing difficulties with factions, then the outside help of the Leut ministers council may not be sufficiently powerful to correct the situation. Institutionalized means within the colony to remove a leader do not exist if he does not commit a gross transgression. When "bad" rather than "weak" leaders arise, there is invariably a factionalization of the colony into groups of extended families who vie for power. Often the early elements of this factionalization have originally led to the selection of a "bad" leader.

4. Most individuals who defect originate from both a disorganized colony and an atypical family.

The system of socialization is so efficient that even when the society is breaking down, it has remarkably effective results (in that the majority remain Hutterite). That is, individuals within a disintegrating colony, if the family remains reasonably true to the Hutterite type (or in an integrated colony even though the family is quite bizarre), can be successfully socialized.

Continuity of Hutterite morality and patterns of thinking persist among the hard core of adjusted defectors. The religion of the Hutterites is basically respected by them in such statements as the following: "If I ever want religion, I know where to find it." A defector who had been away for forty years commented that during all the intervening years, "that little faith that you had, you know, some higher being, was right there to sort of guide--the guardian angel was always with you, it seemed like." Discontinuity of morality is manifest among a sizeable number of the defectors who had not received typical Hutterite socialization, due either to family idiosyncrasy or colony idiosyncrasy or both.

Discussion

This work is offered in the hope that it may advance an understanding of the relation between the individual and his total environment. The results are exploratry rather than definitive, and to be taken as a guide to more precise formulations and greater understanding in the future. Additional questions, for which there are no definitive answers from this investigation include the following:

How much conscious effort is there among Hutterite leaders to avoid nepotism? Is disorganization avoided by colony branching? Do young defectors realize the fluidity of the stratification system in the Hutterite system? To what extent are individuals in the colony poorly socialized and yet remain in the colony? Are the socialization patterns for the children of leaders (preacher and householder) significantly different from those of the typical Hutterite family? This investigation acquired data on some of these questions but the limitation of space makes it impossible to pursue them in greater detail than that already discussed.

The research design for this investigation began with the charter, taken from the conceptual scheme of Malinowski (Figure 8). Part I of this report deals with the content analysis of the traditional charter and forms the basis for describing the socialization processes in the three sample colonies. The "personnel" and "norms" of the Hutterite social system are discussed in particular in "Authority Patterns" (Chapter 5) as well as in the several chapters in Part II. The "activities" and "function" of Hutterite organized behavior are focused in Chapter 8 and 9 and in Part III (Chapters 11, 12), where the findings on deviation and defection are presented.

No effort was made to demonstrate the validity of any theoretical scheme since the purpose of the investigation was to discover the methods of communal socialization, the moral indoctrination, as well as the deviation from the morality of the collective society. The Malinowski scheme was the only model employed throughout the investigation for understanding the culture as a whole, and this scheme was utilized when it was relevant to the material and helpful in the analysis. The scheme was regarded as a method rather than an integral part of the subject matter itself. The concept of charter and its relation to other concrete isolates of organizaed behavior was found to be more relevant to this analysis than some of the other concepts in the Malinowski scheme such as "activities" and "function." (Figure 8).

Nothing has led the field staff or the principal investigator to believe that the sample colonies were not representative of the larger segment of Hutterite culture and community life, or that they were atypical in a way that would invalidate the conclusions. Many of the differences between the sample colonies, between Leut, as well as differences within Leut have been documented in this report. The variables in a single colony that render it unique from all others are many as was most evident in the discussion of disorganization (Chapter 11). There are many differences just as there are many similarities among the colonies.

Two additional levels of investigation would be possible from the data obtained in this investigation for broadening the knowledge of the relation of socialization to culture. One is a detailed and rigorous construction of the charter of the three sample colonies in relationship to existential or survival problems of the culture and the relation of this to culture change. There is abundant evidence that the existential problem of the Hutterites has been resolved with great success in that it persists and renews itself in the culture through each generation. Each of the colonies has the problem of relating its goal to the problem of survival and of resolving the two. The manner in which the charter and the existential problem are resolved in the sample colonies studied would provide a basis for the prediction of culture change. The problem of culture change has not been the focus of this research project.

A second point of departure for understanding communal socialization would be a comparative study of child-rearing in communal societies. A comparative study of such systems is made possible by intensive "case" studies. What Whiting (1963) and others have done in six cultures might be pursued in societies that are specifically communally oriented. Much of the literature on communal socialization was reviewed in the course of this investigation, some of which is included in the bibliography, but a comparative study has not been the objective of the present investigation.

On first thought it appears that the goals of the Soviet state (Bereday, et. al. 1960; Bonfenbrenner 1962) and the Hutterites are at opposite poles, but that their methods might not be too different. Both are competing for absolute loyalties of each new generation by methods that are effective in their respective social environments. Does the success of the Hutterite indoctrination pose a "frightening commentary upon the possibilities of other, less humane, secular totalitarian societies of our day"? (Conkin (1964: 189). Conkin suggests that the totalitarian societies have the means of even more effective isolation and indoctrination than the Hutterites: "Perhaps in a few generations they can achieve the same results, and with less and less force. They can then claim, as do the Hutterites, that all choices in their society are 'voluntary' and that all decisions are made by a 'democratic' majority."

Such is an unproven assumption. On the basis of this study and of reviewing the studies on communal socialization, it is proposed that the methods of child rearing and education are complex and vary enormously among communal societies. On a single variable, such as the conception of human nature, the value orientations and methods of training manifest great differences on psychological and sociological levels. The entire complex of child rearingcan be changed by revolution, whether political or religious, or both. Such attempts are not sporadic efforts to assist parents, educate teachers, or manage the large numbers of children in schools. Child rearing thus becomes a conscious instrument of the revolutionary group, large or small, sacred or profane. Of the small religious revolutions, the Hutterite social order has a demonstrable, pervasive, and effective institution of child rearing.

In the Kibbutzim (Spiro 1958), again, there appear to be certain similarities of structure with the Hutterite patterns of socialization. Children from an early age are reared in age-graded schools, the child is not economically dependent upon the parents, but in philosophy and goals there exists no similarity. The end product of personality is also variable. No adult Hutterite would want "children to be pals" nor "to destroy the barrier that conventionally exists between parents and children" (Spiro 1958: 14). On the existence of a patriarchate and on the role of women the Kibbutzim and the Hutterites find no common ground. From these observations it appears that collective education supports a wide range of ends with methods that are appropriate to and consistent with the value-orientation of the society.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: 1

OUTLINE OF FIELD GUIDE FOR INVESTIGATING THE COMMUNITY

This outline was used by the field workers for making observations and recording data in the sample communities under study. The outline was constructed from the Project Document "Field Guide Designed to Investigate the Changing Culture of the Community", by Laura Thompson, and by the project staff in conference. Each of the 40 items in the outline has Part A and Part B to obtain data on two distinct levels which approximate the "real" and the "ideal" aspects of culture. Part A consists of observations and descriptions by the field worker. Part B anticipates how the Hutterite informant feels about the subject including any changes that are desired, problems expressed, or attitudes that reveal the preferred pattern.

MAPS AND SPATIAL ASPECTS

1. (A) Map the dwellings and associated facilities showing their function. Include:
    - Public roads (relation to)
    - Other roads or routes or paths
    - Water supply, natural and artificial
    - Power lines
    - Telephone lines and telephones
    - Entrances to all buildings
    - Indicate in general the color of buildings

   (B) What changes are anticipated or planned for the future:
    - How does the colony differ from the "ideal"?
    - Which buildings were present when the land was purchased?
    - How were they modified?
    - Which buildings were purchased ready-built and moved to the property?
    - How were they modified?

2. (A) Map the sleeping places of each person showing the family relationship and age. (If possible map this for winter as well as summer)

   (B) What is considered ideal, what aspects are recognized as problems?

3. (A) Map the total land owned and/or leased by the colony.
    - Show land use pattern
    - Pasture
    - Woodlands
    - Cultivation: which field in which crop (rotation-use of fertilizer)
    - New grounds to be broken
    - Waste land (or other kinds)

   (B) What are the "land problems" expressed? What changes proposed?

4. (A) Map the "effective world" of the colony in terms of places that are recognized by the members as subdivisions of the colony and of the wider neighborhood and community. This would include neighbors, trading centers and market centers. (Indicate how often visited).

Other colonies they regularly visit (indicate how often).
Other colonies who regularly visit them

(B) What are the ideals with respect to wider community interaction?
With neighbors
With other Hutterites
With world (beyond neighbors)

What problems are expressed?

5. (A) Map the geography of the origin of the spouses, in terms of their colony. Give address of daughters who are married. Give address of any sons not living in the colony.

(B) What geographic (distance) problems are recognized? By husbands? By spouses?

6. (A) Geographic location of all brothers and sisters and parents (at time of death) of colony members.

(B) Preference pattern of; what is felt about brothers and sisters at a distance?

7. (A) Map the kinship structure in the colony.

(B) What problems are perceived?

8. (A) Map (give addresses of) the relatives which are important to members or recognized by them, in other colonies.
Show the geography (space) by plotting the colonies where they are located.

(B) What problems are expressed?

REGIONAL MATERIALS

9. (A) Relevant regional data: (Obtain from government bureaus or departments, and non-colony sources)
Geological formation
Soil types
Topography
Climate
Elevation
Temperature
Rainfall
Flora and fauna
Watershed conditions
Average size of land holdings for the area
Availability and price of land on the open market

(B) What problems of the above are recognized or expressed?

10. (A) Describe how the site was selected.
    - Date of founding
    - Length of time from purchase to occupancy
    - How was the site located?
    - What were the advantages for choosing this site?
    - What were the disadvantages?
    - Were there other site alternatives?
    - Criteria for selecting this one
    - Size of the holdings when purchased? Purchase price
    - Lands acquired or leased since
    - Total holdings now
    - Describe ways in which the group has adapted itself to the particular region or niche

(B) Problems of this site and adjustments to the local niche

11. (A) Unusual environmental conditions: What natural threats are there to the community?
    - Droughts
    - Floods
    - Hail
    - Frosts
    - Hurricanes
    - Pests
    - Epidemics
    - Fires
    - Erosion

(B) What are the fears or problems expressed about the unusual environmental conditions?
    - Fears
    - Anxieties, real and perceived
    - How are the anxieties alleviated?
    - Which are attributed to the supernatural?
    - Which are solved by the colony?

POPULATION

12. (A) Population
    - Age and sex at founding date
    - Age and sex at present
    - Number and percent of persons married at founding date
    - Number and percent of persons married now

(B) What problems of population are recognized or expressed?
    - Attitude toward family size
    - Toward family with few children (sin? sorrow? misfortune? lucky?)
    - Attitude toward repeated miscarriage or many childhood deaths
    - Sons or daughters stressed
    - Preference for one sex - by father, by mother?
    - Explanation for defective child

13. (A) Migratory history of each member
Previous colonies each lived in from time of birth, and length in each

(B) What is thought or expressed about persons who have lived in many places? Is it a status factor?
Attitude toward different family names
Attitude toward being related to people with different family names

PRODUCTIVITY

14. (A) Numeration of livestock, poultry, and other domestic animals
Include bees, dogs, cats or pets
Describe animal husbandry practices by role and sex
What is believed and done about fertility, infertility, artificial breeding?

(B) What changes are planned or considered to be desirable?

15 (A) Crops grown (volume and use of each)
Indicate the rotation system
What are the problems?

(B) What ideals or changes are perceived?

16. (A) Wild animals in the area, name those recognized
What use is made of them?

(B) What is the attitude toward wild animals including birds?
Are there age and sex differences in attitude?
Attitude toward hunting
Is there an individual with special knowledge?

17. (A) Sick animals
What are the main hazards? problems?
What is done with dead animals?

(B) What is done for treatment? By whom?

18. (A) Where is breeding stock obtained for the livestock represented?

(B) What is believed about maintaining superior breeding stock?
Who advocates or vocalized this knowledge?

19. (A) Where are seeds obtained?

(B) What is believed about seed selection? What is done?

20. (A) What wild plants are named, collected, used or harvested?
How extensive recognized?
Is there a member considered a plant lore expert?

(B) What is believed about each?

21. (A) Sun, Moon, Planets, Stars: how classified, how thought of, how used?
        Relation of earth to sun
        Shape of earth
        Lightning - its cause and effect on humans

    (B) Relation of colony buildings to the Sun and/or the Stars

22. (A) Marketing system
        Obtain record of annual income from livestock and products sold
        What productive activities have been abandoned? Why?
        What transportation is used? Inside, outside colony

    (B) What marketing problems are recognized?

23. (A) Mechanization of agriculture
        Which aspects are most mechanized?
        Which least?
        Who is the leader in mechanized change?

    (B) What "lags" are recognized? Which resisted? Why?

CONSUMPTIVE SYSTEM

24. (A) The Nutrition pattern
        Food groups and their function
        Food processing
        Special foods, recipes, diets, for special sicknesses
        Special foods, for holidays or special occasions
        How different from other colonies?
        Food taboos
        Favored foods by age and sex
        Rules for eating
        What food is not eaten in a communal setting
        Any hoarding

    Prayer before and after breast? Before bottle? Only solid food or cup?
    Ceremonies connected with food preparation? With eating?

    (B) Attitudes towards hunger, thirst, satiation. What changes are proposed? What are the problems?
        Attitude toward quantity of food eaten, toward speed of eating
        Use of food as bribe? Withheld for punishment?
        Use of food as substitute for or symbolic of affection
        Importance and occurrence of "group" eating, of exclusion from group eating

25. (A) Clothing (and furnishings) distribution system
        Copy Schneiderin's book
        How allocated by group, age, and sex; how much, what kind, when?
        Laundry and clothes washing pattern by whom
        Bathing pattern: place, time, by whom, with whom, frequency (seasonal)
          Special indulgence (soaps, lotions), sex difference
        When are babies swaddled, how long, any sex difference

(B) What problems are expressed, unexpressed?

26. (A) Property that is inherited
    What property, and how is it determined?
    Any books? Any antiques? Any items of old costume?
    Any buttons, pins, dishes, old coins, or other?

(B) What is believed about "keep sakes" and antiques? What is done with chests, clothes, books, embroideries, if one dies?
What is done with "forbidden" property at baptism, at marriage?

SOCIAL GROUPINGS

27. (A) Leadership and decision making
    Community structure in general
    Community role in relation to sibling position (i.e. older sons usually have position of leadership)
    Major roles of leadership
    Decisions made by preacher
    Decisions made by the individual
    By the council
    By the assembled male body
    By the person in charge of a particular specialty
    Formal decisions
    Traditional and anticipated decisions vs. unexpected decisions
    Informal decisions
    Women and decision making
    Children and decision making

(B) What changes are preferred? Present problems:
    Attitude toward present decision making
    Attitude toward people who make decisions

28. (A) Languages used
    In interpersonal occasions
    With deity
    With outsiders
    What words are of Russian origin?
    What words of English?
    Words for parts of body
    Words of emphasis
    Expostulative
    "Swearing" - what words are considered swearing? How are these words translated?

(B) What is believed about language preference? Why?

29. (A) Major social groupings in the colony
    Formal
    Informal
    Age
    Sex
    Family
    Location of living house

(B) The ideal pattern; present problems?

30. (A) Rules of descent
Who is closest related
Who most distant
Who is an ideal marriage partner: related at all, or not related?

(B) What is preferred about close relatives? What are the present problems?

31. (A) Prestige factors or differences
In the community
Among males
Among females
Among younger groups
Kinship factors
Other criteria

(B) Attitude toward persons in prestigeful positions
Attitude toward oneself being in or attaining a prestigeful position

32. (A) What is the status-role of and (B) the ideal concept of "a good":
Man
Woman
Preacher
Head cook
Manager
Boss
German teacher
Public school teacher
Grandmother
Grandfather
Child
Baby
"Teenage" person

33. (A) Sickness
What happens when a person is unwell? What treatments are given?
Baby
Children
Adult males
Adult females
When is a person taken to a physician?
When is a physician called in?
Are there native doctors; what treatments do they give?

(B) What is believed about illness? About physicians?

34. (A) Are any members regarded as incompetent?
Chronically sick more than others
Mentally ill
Genetically inferior
Idiosyncratic

(B) What is believed about incompetency? How treated? Work assignment?

UNSPECIFIED CATEGORIES

35. (A) Defectors and nonconformists, extent of
    Differences between sex and age grades
    Deviancy patterns; how manifest
    Punishments from minor to greatest offense

    (B) What is believed about deviating persons in the colony? Outside the colony?

36. (A) How is time measured?
    Who may have a watch?
    In what way do units of time or measurements of time differ from non-Hutterite world?
    What do the following mean in Hutterite terms?
    - A second
    - A minute
    - Hour
    - Day
    - Week
    - Month
    - Year
    - Century
    - Eternity

    (B) What is believed about time?
    Use of? About life span?
    Relation of time to energy? Value placed on each?
    Relation of time to various activities?
    Speed of accomplishment?

37. (A) Definition of clean and dirty

    (B) What should be clean? What is meant by clean? What characterizes cleanliness? What does not have to be clean?

38. (A) Uses of beverages. Where secured; kinds and how distributed and when

    (B) Attitude toward beer, wine, soft drinks, sweet food, sour food

39. (A) What is hard work, easy work

    (B) Attitude toward work, toward different kinds of work

40. (A) Odors and their meaning

    (B) Awareness of odor, remarks about smells

APPENDIX A: 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE: THE GOALS OF EDUCATION*

1. What is the greatest or highest good you want your children to learn in life? (Obtain 3 or more short responses if possible. Discover the key German concepts in the answers. If they answer in English, ask them to say the word in German).
   (IF QUESTION IS NOT UNDERSTOOD, THEN ASK: What do you want your child to be like after he is grown up?)

2. What is the most important thing for a Hutterite boy to learn in life? Next most important? Any other? (probe)

3. What is the most important thing for a Hutterite girl to learn in life?

4. Who is responsible for training the child to be a good Hutterite? (Perhaps there are several. No coaching)

5. If the child grows up and turns out bad, whose fault is it? (Get as many answers as you can without suggesting any) (Ask: "Anything else?")
   In what way are they responsible?

6. What would you like your children to accomplish when they are grown up?

7. Do you worry much about how your children will turn out?

8. (For those who have children who are married ask:) Are you reasonably satisfied with the way your children were trained and brought up? What would you change if you could?

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*Asked of all parents in the sample colonies.

APPENDIX A: 3

PROJECTIVE MATERIALS USED IN THE INVESTIGATION

The Goodenough Drawing Test

Administered to the children in the sample colonies.

Childrens drawings

School children were given white paper (8½ x 11) without lines, a box of crayons, and a pencil without an eraser. They were asked to draw the following items (personal data was placed on the back):

1. "A farm"
2. "A person"
3. "My home"
4. "My happy time"

Drawings were also secured from a control group.

Instructions given to the person administering the drawings were: "Do not influence the child in any way, either by stimulating or interfering in the selection of the subject, material used, or the form. Let the child choose the colors he wishes. If he asks 'What shall I do?' or 'How shall I make this?' your answer should always be 'As you like'."

Dreams

Children in school were given the following assignments:
(1) "Write out on paper the best dream you ever had, that is, a dream you hope will come true."
(2) "Write on another page the worst dream you ever had, and one you hope will never come true."

Projective tests: aspects of adolescent personality

Tests of the open-end variety were given to 70 Hutterite pupils in grade seven and eight and to a control group of 100. These items included:

(1) Sentence Completion Technique, covering
    Attitudes toward parents
    Mode of punishment and punitive figure
    Fears (Projective)
(2) Wishes, Aspirations, and Fears
    Aspirations and Ideal Age
    Wishes
    Fears
(3) The Self-Concept

Kauffman Questionnaire: Interpersonal relations

Administered to 92 Hutterite adolescents and covering variables on parent-child relationships, peer-relationships, and concepts of self, and designed to compare scores with Mennonite and Amish subjects. (J. Howard Kauffman, Interpersonal Relations in Traditional and Emergent Families Among Midwest Mennonites, in Marriage and Family Living, (1961) 23: 247-252.)

APPENDIX A: 4

TEST BATTERY, ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY (4 PARTS)

Part I. Name..
Age.................... Girl or Boy....................
Grade...
What church do you attend?.........................
Date......................
Write here the number of brothers and sisters you have who are older than you are...................
Write here the number of brothers and sisters you have who are younger than you are.................

(PLEASE DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD TO BY YOUR TEACHER)

PART II. TEST BATTERY

INSTRUCTIONS*: Here are some sentences that are not complete. Complete the sentence with the first thing that comes to your mind. Please try to complete the sentences with the whole thought rather than with just one word.

1. John was happiest when...
2. Scott's father...
3. A good man should always...
4. Joe was afraid of...
5. Bill's mother...
6. Jack was most sad when...
7. A good woman should always...
8. Dennis thought that the worst thing about girls was...
9. The best thing that Abe likes about girls was...
10. Dick was embarrassed when...
11. A good wife is...
12. My mother...
13. The person that Henry would most want to be like is...
14. A good husband is...
15. Because Steve was bad he was punished by...
16. If Albert had the chance he would most like to...
17. My father...

PART III. TEST BATTERY

INSTRUCTIONS: These are questions that young people your age usually like to answer because you can write down anything and it will not be wrong. Different people may have different ideas on these questions but you write down what your very own ideas are.

1. If you had a wish and your wish could come true, what would you wish?
2. If you could be changed and be different from what you are, how would you want to be changed? What would you want to be like?
3. If you could be just as old as you wanted to be, how old would you want to be?
4. What is the worst thing that has ever happened to you that you remember?
5. What is the best thing that has ever happened to you that you remember?
6. What are some things that scare you, things that make you afraid?

*The female test form differed in that female names were included in the sentence completion items.

APPENDIX A: 4

PART IV. TEST BATTERY

INSTRUCTIONS: Now ask this question of yourself, "Who am I?" Give three answers that are different to this question. Just write them down as you think of them and try to be as honest as possible.

1.
2.
3.

APPENDIX A: 5

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR DEFECTORS

1. Name
2. Present address
3. Date of birth
4. Place of birth (Colony)
5. Grade of school completed
6. Did you go to school since leaving the colony?
   Place
   Years
   Do you plan to?
7. Father's name
   Residence
   (If deceased, give date of death and place of burial)
8. Mother's name
   Residence
   (If deceased, give date of death and place of burial)
9. Were either your father or your mother married more than once?
10. Name your brothers and sisters in order of oldest to youngest.
11. Which children belonged to which parents?
12. Where are you in the family (position)?
13. Were you considered a "favorite" child by your father or mother?
    If you were, why do you think this was true?
    If not, who might have been so considered? Why?
14. Marital status
(If single, omit items 15-18)
15. Name of spouse
16. Date of marriage
17. Place of marriage
18. Number of children (ages and sexes)
19. What do you remember about your kindergarten years?
20. Did you enjoy school?
    Did you wish to continue school?
21. Was your German teacher strict, fair, or too easy on the children?
    What relation was he to you?
22. How many different English teachers did you have?
23. What were their names?
24. Which ones did you like best?
25. What church or religion did he, she, they belong to?
26. Did you have anything to do with any of these English teachers outside regular school hours?
    Which ones ?
    How often?
    Under what circumstances?
    How old were you then?

27. Was your family more strict than other families in your colony? In what ways?
28. What sort of person is (was) your father?
29. What sort of person is (was) your mother?
30. Was your colony more strict than other colonies you know: In what way?
31. Do you feel that the council at your colony treated all persons fairly?
32. In comparison with other colonies, do you think the boss did a good job?
33. In comparison with other colonies, do you think the preacher did a good job?
34. Would you join another colony if you had the chance?
35. What was your job when you were in the colony? Did you like your job?
36. What do you think were your chances of getting an important job in the colony's future?
37. How did you get along with the boss?
38. How did you get along with the preacher?
39. Who were your non-Hutterite friends while you were in the colony? How did you get to know them? Where?
40. Do you still know them?
41. Do the Hutterite people live nearer to the will of God than other Christian people? Why, or why not?
42. What do you dislike most about colony life?
43. Do you still think of yourself as a Hutterite?
44. When did you begin thinking seriously of leaving the colony? (About what age)
45. What was it that kept you from making up your mind to leave immediately?
46. There are some things that Hutterites in the colony aren't allowed to do. Did you plan to do any of these things after leaving? Which ones?
47. What made you decide to leave the colony?
48. Did you talk about what things are like outside the Gemein with anyone who had left the colony and then come back?
49. What sort of punishment did they get when they came back?
50. Did this in any way make you afraid about leaving yourself?
51. Will the Gemein always remember that they once left it and treat them differently because of this?

(Married persons, items 52-54)

52. Is your spouse a Hutterite, ex-Hutterite, or non-Hutterite?
53. Were you married before or after leaving the colony?
54. Did your spouse help you make up your mind to leave in any way?
55. Did you have difficulty in getting along with anyone in particular at your colony? Who? Related to you? What job did this person have?
56. While you were still on the colony, did you talk with Hutterites who had left and were visiting the colony?
57. Did this in any way help you to make up your mind to leave?
58. Was there a specific incident in the colony that made you want to leave?
59. Before you actually left the colony, were you at any time worried or concerned about getting along on the outside?
60. (If yes) What specifically gave you cause for concern?
    (If no) Why did you think you would be able to make a go of it?
61. What did you think your life would be like away from the colony?
62. (Finish this sentence) I would have remained on the colony if____________ .
63. Did you ever leave and return to the colony before?
    (Give number of times and length of stay - Get account of each).
64. When you last left the colony, did you think you were only leaving for a short time?

65. Did you tell anyone you were leaving?
66. Did anyone outside the colony help you to leave?
67. The colony you left was: ________________
68. Date you left: day____ month________________ year________
69. How did you leave? (walk, go along to town, drive car or how?)Get full story.
70. Time of leaving: time of day________________ day of week________________
71. What did you take along? (How much money and clothes)
72. Where did you stay the first night? (And all places stayed since)
73. Would you advise others to leave? Why? Why not?
74. When you first left, how were you treated by outsiders?
75. Did you think a great deal about returning to the colony?
    If so, what made you remain away?
76. When you first left the colony, did you feel like a stranger who did not belong? (If so), What made you feel this way?
77. What was the thing that surprised you most about life outside the colony?
78. What was the thing that surprised you least about life outside the colony?
79. When you first left the colony, did you study non-Hutterites and try to be like them? In what ways?
80. Did you have any difficulty speaking or writing the English language after leaving?
81. What do you want most to get out of life?
82. How do you expect to achieve this?
83. What do you like most about being out of the colony?
84. Do you know any Hutterites who are no longer living in the colony?
85. What are your relationships with them?
    Do you visit?
    Write them?
    How often?
86. Did you once visit or write them more often than you do at the present time?
87. Are there any that you count as particularly good friends?
    Which ones?
    Why?
88. Do they feel confident that they can make a go of it, or not?
89. Do their feelings about this have any effect on your own feelings or self-confidence?
90. Under what conditions would you consider returning to the colony?
91. What would the Gemein do to punish you if you came back?
92. Whom do you visit (or write to) in the colony?
    (parent, girl friend, boy friend, brother, or other status)
93. Do you visit colonies other than the one you left?
94. Do you know any Hutterites living on the colony who have at any time seriously thought about leaving?
95. If so, do you know why they actually never did leave?
96. Why do most Hutterites remain on the colony?
97. Is there a German word used by the Gemein which means a Hutterite who has left the colony permanently?
98. Does the colony still look upon you as a Hutterite?
99. Are Hutterite women (men) different from other women (men)? How?
100. What do you like least about being out of the colony?
101. (Finish this sentence) The hardest thing about living outside the colony is ________________________.
102. Give occupations since leaving the colony (from first to most recent, length and salary of each where applicable).

103. Are you happy with your present job and salary?
104. How do you get along with the boss at your present job?
105. What do you think your chances are of getting a better job? of getting higher wages?
106. What do you hope to be doing ten years from now?
107. Do you have an automobile? (Where applicable, how long owned; make, year, cost)
108. Who is your best friend at this time?
109. (If spouse is a Hutterite or ex-Hutterite) Has your spouse made friends of her own outside the colony?
110. Have you been in touch with any of your former English school teachers since leaving the colony? Which ones? Under what circumstances?
111. In regards to your own children, if or when you have any, how would you raise them differently from those in the colony? (probe for specifics)
112. What sort of future would you like your own children to have?
113. What would you say your main goal in life is at the present time?
114. Has your main goal in life changed in any way since you left the colony? How?
115. Is there any one thing that you can name which brought about this change?
116. Will it be easier, just as easy, or more difficult to get what you want out of life now that you are away from the colony? How?
117. Has your ability to speak, read and write English improved since you left the colony?
118. What organizations do you belong to? (e.g. unions, church groups, lodges) How often do you attend?
119. Do you vote in elections? (Political views are __________________)
120. Do you attend church? (Denomination and extent of participation)
121. Do you feel badly about having been unable to live according to Hutterite religious teachings?
122. If you went back to the colony, what would you miss most about the life outside?
123. If it were necessary, do you think it would be right to fight for your country?
124. If you had the chance, would you do it over again? Why, or why not?

(REFLECTIONS AFTER THE INTERVIEW)

125. Place of interview: (give town and situation, whether tavern or living room, etc.)
126. Time of interview (time of day) Beginning _____ Ending______Date_____.
127. Appearance (clothing, grooming)
128. Mannerisms (at ease, under tension, very frank, extremely reluctant)
129. Interviewer: _______________
130. Other factors or impressions: ________________________________.

APPENDIX A: 6

PROJECT DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS DEVELOPED DURING THE INVESTIGATION

Friedmann, Robert
1962 The Basic Charter of the Hutterian Brethren. November 10, 1962.

Huntington, Gertrude Enders
1965 Freedom and the Hutterite Communal Family Pattern. Read at the Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems, Bluffton, Ohio. June 11.

1965 The Formal Educational Process. Manuscript.

Huntington, Gertrude Enders and John A. Hostetler
1965 A Note on Nursing Practices in an American Isolate With a High Birth Rate. Submitted for publication.

Kleinsasser, Dennis
1965 Dreams of Hutterite Children. Manuscript.

1965 Aspects of Adolescent Personality in Hutterite Society. Manuscript

Mackie, Marlene M.
1965 The Defector From the Hutterite Colony: A Pilot Study.

Obernberger, Alfred
1964 Die Mundart der Hutterischen Brüder.

Peter, Karl
1965 Social Class Position and the Concept of the Calling. M. A. thesis prospectus.

1965 Structure and Functional Relations in Hutterite Society. Manuscript.

Redekop, Calvin
1963 Hutterite Socialization: Interview and Observation Guide. February 23, 1963.

Thompson, Laura
1963 Field Guide Designed to Investigate the Changing Culture of the Community. 2nd draft, February 10, 1963.

Thompson, Laura and John A. Hostetler
1965 The Traditional Charter of the Hutterites: A Pilot Study Based on Historical Documents. Manuscript.

APPENDIX B

RITES OF PASSAGE FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD

Dariushof: At fifteenth birthday

Lehrerhof: At fourteenth birthday
(Girls continue to attent English school and boys continue to attend English and German school until age fifteen).

All changes in status demand acceptance of the sex roles and emphasize these roles.

Designation of new status	The young person is now said to be "bei die Leut" (with the people). The term for "boy" changes from "mandle" to "buah". The term for "girl" changes from "dindla" to "die-en".
Eating pattern	The young people eat "bei die Leut" in the adult dining hall, sitting with the men with the youngest one at the bottom of the farthest table. The girls sit with the women with the youngest one sitting at the bottom of the farthest women's table and waiting on the men's table.
Work pattern: Work no longer performed	Girls and boys no longer work as baby sitters either in their home colony, nor are they sent to another colony to work as a baby sitter for a relative. Young adults do not work with children, nor do they work in groups of mixed sexes, nor do they dig potatoes, pick up around the grounds, and related tasks.
New work	The boys work with the men, either in assigned tasks or as part of a rotating labor force. Girls work only with the women, and never do a man's work (may not help with cattle, etc.) Their major work is food preparation and painting.
Work tools	The colony gives the young adult tools he will need for his new work role. It is his responsibility to keep these tools in good working condition. Boys receive: saw, hammer, pitch fork, spade, etc. Girls receive: paint brushes, kitchen knives, broom, hoe, knitting needles, etc.
Religious observance	No longer is every aspect of religious behavior supervised by an adult. Prayers are said silently morning and evening without supervision by the German teacher, and not with the family group of young children. Must recite memory work in weekly Sunday School, and no longer attend German school. Must never miss Sunday Lehr and almost never miss Gebet. (A child may miss regularly if she has an assigned baby sitting job.) Certain books are given to the young adult by the colony for personal use.

Social life	Visiting adults from other Hutterite colonies, shake hands with all adults, including those just over fifteen and greet them by name. Officially begin dating. (Often begin sooner). Some families do not permit dating so young, but the colony permits it.
Schooling	No longer attend English school except when required by law. No longer attend German school, but do attend Sunday School until baptized.
Discipline,	Lehrerhof: become subject to colony discipline in addition to or instead of discipline by parents and/or German teacher. Dariushof: parents take more responsibility for young person's discipline. German teacher responsible in area of religion and general moral behavior. The work boss is responsible for work phases. Major transgression becomes a problem for the whole colony although usually handled through the German teacher.
Punishment	Dariushof: corporal punishment not used by colony or colony representative. May be used by parent but in practice is not. Stand in Sunday School. For a serious offence a boy may have to stand in Gebet or in Lehr. This is considered too harsh a punishment for a girl. Lehrerhof: a family may lock a disobedient daughter out of the apartment. She is forced to seek shelter with some other family.
Furniture	A boy is given a small chest and a girl is given a medium size chest in which to store personal belongings.
Clothing	Lehrerhof: boys no longer wear cap (Katus) but adult style hat. Boys and girls given cloth for adult style clothing. Dariushof: get cloth for four church dresses, three black and one dark blue. Made with large tucks to last them throughout the rest of their life.
Adult privileges	When cloth is passed out they receive adult amounts, style and quality. Adult allowance (money) received. Adult liquor allowance. Adult tools when distributed.

APPENDIX B

Adult privileges withheld	May not attend weddings and funerals in other colonies until after baptized. Must attend Sunday school, must receive permission from German teacher to leave colony (instead of from minister). Misbehavior handled by German teacher rather than by minister. (Usually) Boys may not vote in colony affairs, and women never do. Not given managerial or "boss" job (bcys)

APPENDIX C

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SCHOOL BOARD AND A COLONY, ALBERTA*

Memorandum of agreement made at ...., Alberta, this .... day of ...., 19.., between the Board of .... Division No. .. and the Hutterite Colony located in the .... School District No. ...

Subject to approval by the Minister of Education, it is hereby agreed as follows:

(1) Since the Colony has been established in a School District the pupils of which are now provided for by the Division and the members of the Colony insist that they shall have their own school apart from the schools for the Division, the other ratepayers of the Division should not be asked to bear any of the cost of the school in the Hutterite Colony.

(2) The colony is to provide a school site of at least three acres. This is to be fenced to prevent the running of stock, pigs, and poultry through the school grounds.

(3) The Colony is to provide a school building approved by the Department of Education.

(4) The Colony is to provide a teacher's residence of at least three rooms with basement to be built at a suitable place in the school grounds.

(5) Toilets for the school and residence are to be provided by the Colony.

(6) The Colony is not to build any other buildings within one hundred and fifty feet of the school building.

(7) The Colony is to provide fuel and janitor service for the school.

(8) The teacher is to be appointed and paid by the Division

(9) Furniture and school equipment are to be provided by the Division.

---

*Agreements between Divisional School Boards and the colonies are not uniform, nor are the points in this agreement always put into effect.

(10) The pupils of the Colony may buy their school supplies from the Division.

(11) The pupils may rent their textbooks from the Division, or the textbooks may be bought outright by the Colony.

(12) Any alternate school site or school building provided in future by the Colony shall be subject to approval by the Division and by the Department of Education.

(13) Should the enrollment of pupils in the Colony reach forty, the Colony is to provide an additional school room, approved by the Department of Education, on the school site. The Division will then provide additional equipment and a second teacher.

(14) The Colony is free to use the school building for church purposes providing such use does not interfere with the use of the building for school purposes.

(15) The Minister of Education will be requested to declare the quarter section(s) occupied by the Colony buildings to be a Hamlet under Section 2(f)(ii) of The School Act.

(16) The Minister of Education will be requested to approve an additional levy upon the Hamlet as provided in Section 290 of The School Act; provided that the amount of the additional levy which the Minister will be asked to approve for .... shall not exceed .... Dollars.

(17) This agreement may be terminated by either party thereto giving notice to the other on or before the fifteenth day of May in any year, and, upon notice being given, the agreement shall cease and determine on the last day of the month of June of the following year.

Signed on behalf of	Signed on behalf of the Hutterite
...........School Division No.	Colony of ....
.... Chairman	.... President
.... Secretary-Treasurer	.... Secretary

Approved this ..... day of ....19....

....
Minister of Education

APPENDIX D

DOCUMENTS ON CHILD REARING AND SOCIALIZATION

Introduction to the Documents

Listed here are translations of the important sources used in training children. These sources embody the Hutterian conception of the child and methods of nurture and therefore supplement respectively the "charter" and the "norms" of the educational institutions of the Hutterian Brethren.

There are three major categories of materials that directly pertain to child rearing: (1) historical writings that specifically discuss the upbringing and education of children; (2) prayers that children and youth of various ages recite daily; (3) and material committed to memory such as hymns, Bible verses, table rules, and baptismal pieces which are recited on specific occasions.

Of the documents on child rearing that have survived to the present day, the most succinct is the account by Peter Rideman, 1541 (Document 1). He describes the Hutterite educational goals and the methods by which these goals are obtained. Today the Hutterites still seek the same goals for their children and use the same methods for attaining them. Specifically, the child is taught to obey, he is not permitted "to carry out his headstrong will and carnal practice" and he is taught to seek what is eternal, not what is temporal. The child is cared for by his mother until he is ready for the "little" school. There women appointed by the colony teach the child prayers and hymns. When old enough to learn to read or write, at the age of about six, the child is entrusted to the schoolmaster. Even the specific order of teaching is still followed today. Children are taught to pray together, to be obedient and to be subject to and to honor those set over them. When the child is old enough to be taught to work, he is given a job for which he is gifted and capable. Childhood is over when the individual has internalized the Hutterite beliefs and patterns of life and requests formal membership by confessing his faith and being baptized.

In 1557 the Hutterites answered accusations made against them by the Lutherans (Document 2). Their statement points out that children are dear to the Hutterites and are conscientiously cared for and educated. The method is similar to that described by Rideman except that the schools described are boarding schools. At two or three years of age the parents bring the boy or girl to the little school where he is taught prayers. Throughout his schooling the child is under constant surveillance and is brought to the glory of God by admonishing, learning, and punishment.

Two documents (3, 4) of 1568 are of somewhat limited value in understanding the present Hutterite educational system because most of the discussion concerns details of running sixteenth century boarding schools. However, these documents do point out that the Hutterites consider the teacher to be responsible to God and to the colony in every detail of his work with the children. The teacher may not shift any of this responsibility to anyone else. Traditionalism and authority is already stressed for "Neither brethren nor sisters shall of themselves undertake or order something new without the counsel, knowledge, or will of the elders. Even though someone knows a better method, it shall not be followed without good council." (Document 3) An unconscious aspect of these reports is the evidence of slight friction between the men's culture and the women's culture.

Historically these two documents are significant. They show how far ahead of their period, how modern were the sixteenth century Hutterite schools when compared with most of the contemporary schools. The use of corporal punishment reached its peak during the sixteenth century (Aries 1962: 258). [At a non-Hutterite school in France "pupils guilty of serious offences were strapped in front of the whole community and beaten until they bled." Aries 1962: 260.] In contrast the Hutterites urged moderation and methods other than strictness and corporal punishment, and it was specifically forbidden to strike the child on the bare limb. Each school master and school mother was told to deal with the children as if they were his own. At this early date the Hutterites put into practice the ideals of moralists and reformers who taught that teachers were responsible to God for the souls of their students and that children, being weak, needed constant supervision, isolation from the corrupt world, and needed to be trained to resist temptation. In their own way Hutterite schools were dedicated to producing a social type, something that did not become widespread until much later. The concern with the health of their students and the practice of isolating the sick and giving them special care was in advance of their historical period. The contrast between the disciplined life of children in sixteenth century Hutterite schools and the rough life of contemporary wandering scholars is startling (Monroe 1904: 93-132). While Hutterite school teachers were being directed to personally supervise the feeding of sick children and to see that the children were covered during the night, the wandering scholars (children) of the same era were begging in the streets for food (most of which was handed over to older students) and were sleeping wherever a place could be found, in stables, with a kindly family, or even under the stars.

In 1652 Andreas Ehrenpreis in an epistle to his fellow Hutterites directed them to consider with earnestness and zeal the paramount importance of bringing up the children (Document 5). Firm consistent discipline is needed due to the child's innate corruptibility ("Just as iron tends to rust and as the soil will nourish weeds, unless it is kept clean by continuous care, so have the children of man a strong inclination towards injustices, desires and lusts.") and the fact that many parents are by nature too soft with their children. The ultimate goal of education is salvation. In order to achieve this, children are to be kept separated from the world where they would see, hear, and learn all sorts of godless things, and are to be disciplined in school and at home. The Biblical story of Eli teaches that not only is the soul of the child lost when his education is neglected, but also the ark of God is captured. In other words, then there is danger that the church will perish.

Hutterites today teach that many parents are too soft and that children must be kept isolated from worldly contact. This epistle is of historical interest in that it indicates that the Hutterites in the mid-seventeenth century were not severely isolated from the world. First, Ehrenpreis must specifically caution members against allowing their children to be given into the service of unbelievers or to study or to learn a trade in the outside world. Secondly, he appears to be reacting to the increasing social importance of the family and the growing emphasis on the child that was developing in seventeenth century Europe. Thirdly, he was consistent with his period when he shows a fear of spoiling the child.

"An Admonition to Parents and Children, and Their Mutual Responsibilities," (Document 6) is regularly read in church at Dariushof. The date of the original has not been determined, but in its present form it was used by the father of the contemporary preacher from whom the "sermon" was obtained. In order to fully understand this admonition it is necessary to be familiar with their colony organization. Given this knowledge the admonition vividly illustrates (1) the strength of the community, (2) the constant teaching of adults and the methods used to elicit acceptable adult behavior, and (3) the belief that children must try to achieve Christianity but are not yet capable of being good.

"Christian upbringing of children is truly one of the most necessary tasks that can be accomplished in this world"(Document 6). Children are entrusted to the parents and the community by God that they may be kept and guarded carefully. The story of Eli (in the Old Testament) had evolved in such a way that it not only illustrates the necessity for parents to punish, teach, and admonish their children, but it also implies that if the parents will not properly discipline their children the colony will discipline both the children and the parents. (Here the strong colony will step in to correct the faulty upbringing of children whereas in the Ehrenpreis epistle, poorly educated children endangered the colony.) Not only must parents teach their children to obey so that they will form the habit and later obey God, but the parents must in their beliefs, desires, and actions be at all times an example to their children. (Therefore, they must be good practicing Hutterites.) Parents will have to give an account of their children to God: At the Last Judgment they will find it unbearable to watch their poorly disciplined children cry, "Woe!" while their well disciplined, unspoiled children will remain with their parents forever and enter into eternal life with them. In this "sharp" admonition, parents are made to feel guilty about any non-approved Hutterite tendencies of their own and they are offered the reward of being forever with their children if they can overcome any wayward inclinations of their own. This admonition, while primarily concerning the education of children,makes clear that adult education is continued throughout the life of the individual.

The second portion of the admonition is addressed to the children. They are told how fortunate they are to have loving and faithful parents to guide them. But they are also told how terrible it will be on the Day of Judgment if they must listen to their dear parents explain that although they prayed for the children and were always an example for them, still they resisted. Then the children will be lost and it will be their own fault. Children are urged to accept what is good, to obey and let themselves be led by believing parents and teachers, and to disregard that which is mortal and visible and to seek that which is eternal, heavenly, and invisible. There is, however, a undercurrent which implies that children will not follow all the good advice given. "Could one only impress this on you, young people . . . you would not have to strive so hard later on. In all seriousness watch out for opportunities that lead to sin. If you do that, you will grow in holiness. Daily experience, however, shows how little this happens." Children and young people are urged not to postpone serving the Lord and denying the self-will. (The implication being that this service is usually postponed.)

The section of the admonition directed to children illustrates contemporary educational practices. The ultimate goals are clearly described to the children, as are the means for obtaining these goals and the advantages in obtaining them (as well as some of the discomfort of not attaining the goals). At the same time the level of expected achievement for children is highly realistic: Actual goals along the path to the ultimate goal are attainable by virtually every Hutterite child and thus the child does not feel defeated. Rather he feels that he can improve and eventually achieve the final goal when he reaches adulthood.

The second category of documents are the prayers that are recited daily (Documents 7-10). These prayers vary somewhat from colony to colony and different ones are said by the different age groups.

House children: Most children by the time they enter the kindergarten can recite a prayer before and after eating and before going to sleep. As soon as the baby is given solid food his mother folds his hands and prays with him--before the first spoonful and after the last one. By the time the baby is three or four months old the parents say a night prayer to him when he is put into the crib. This prayer is repeated even if the child is already asleep. Older babies kneel and say it with one of their parents.

Kindergarten children: Kindergarten children do not pray in the morning at home. They say their morning prayers after breakfast at the kindergarten. They also learn prayers to say before and after eating and a long prayer that they recite in the afternoon before leaving the kindergarten. The morning and evening prayer and table prayers are sixteenth century (Documents 7, 8) or shorter adaptations. The Lord's Prayer is New Testament; the prayers emphasizing the weakness of the small child are probably sixteenth century though they might be early seventeenth; the prayers requesting the guardianship of angels are probably seventeenth century (Document 14). The section of the evening prayer describing the fourteen angels that watch in pairs over the sleeping child is almost identical to the evening prayer sung in Engelburt Humperdinct's opera "Hansel and Gretel." In addition to the table prayers said by adults each preacher has his own "community prayer" recited from memory, which is repeated by the adult members of the congregation silently.

The third category of sources presented here pertains to memorization and curriculum materials used in the so-called German school. Teachers vary in their selection of materials but the pattern is essentially memorizing. The use of Sprüche (choice sayings) by both teacher (Examples in Document 11) and pupils is fundamental, as well as the use of blank notebooks for copying hymns committed to memory and for drawing or illuminating Scripture verses.

Three different sets of catechism questions and answers are used among Hutterites. One is given in translation here (Document 12). Standard materials committed to memory are the ten commandments, a large number of hymns, including special hymns matching the holidays and liturgical calendar (Document 18, 19), the Apostles Creed, and baptismal pieces (See *Ein Spruch* . . . an entry in Document 13).

Much of the curriculum in the German school is not original with the Brethren but has been borrowed from German-speaking groups in Germany and from German Lutherans and German-speaking Mennonites in North America (Document 13). As printed sources became available, they selected primers and readers to support the core of Hutterite doctrine. They use the German materials which the Protestants and Mennonites have long ago discarded. All writing in German is done in gothic alphabet (as modern German with latin or so-called English alphabet is copiously avoided). No English materials are used in the colony schools and no instruction is given in the English language except in the public school.

Table rules (Document 14) are recited daily in winter months by the school children just before going to the dining room. The *Sitten-Lehr* or ethical points of behavior too are memorized from German primers (See A B C Buchstabir und Lesebuch . . . Document 13). Memorization of table rules, an old custom among Germans and Anglo-Saxons, is still perpetuated among the colonies. Early English versions were: "The Boke of Curtasye (1430-40), pp. 177-205; "The School of Vertue and Booke of Good Nourture for Children" (1557), pp. 221-243; "The Book of Curteisie" (1430), pp. 276-282, all in Frederick J. Furnival (ed.), Early English Meals and Manners, (Published by The English Text Society, London, 1868). The Hutterite version appears in their hymnal (Gesang-Büchlein 1961: 86).

APPENDIX D: 1

PETER RIDEMAN, CONCERNING THE NURTURE OF CHILDREN*, 1541

"Ye parents,"[1] saith Paul, "provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." For this reason is our education of children such that we permit them not to carry out their headstrong will and carnal practice. Therefore in such places as in the country of Moravia, where we have many households we have schools in which we bring up our children in the divine discipline,[2] and teach them from the beginning to know God. But we permit them not to go to other schools, since there they teach but the wisdom, art and practices of the world, and are silent about divine things.

Our practice is as follows: as soon as the mother hath weaned the child she giveth it to the school. Here there are sisters, appointed by the Church to care for them, who have been recognized to be competent and diligent therein; and, as soon as they can speak, they[3] lay the word of God's testimony in their mouths and teach them to speak with or from the same, tell them of prayer and such things as children can understand. With them children remain until their fifth or sixth year, that is, until they are able to learn to read and write.

When they are thus far they are entrusted to the schoolmaster, who teacheth them the same and thereby instructeth them more and more in the knowledge of God, that they learn to know God and His will and strive to keep the same. He observeth the following order with them: when they all come together in the morning to school he teacheth them to thank the Lord together, and to pray to him. There he preacheth to them as children for the space of half an hour, telling them[4] how they ought to obey, be subject to and honour their parents, teachers and those set over them, and illustrateth from the Old and New Testaments both the promise to godly[5] and the punishment of disobedient and obstinate children.

From such obedience to parents[6] he teacheth them obedience to God and the keeping of His will; that they should reverence Him as their Almighty Father, and[7] love, honour and worship Him above all things; and serve and cleave to him alone, as Him from whom they have all that is good. Thus we teach our children from babyhood[8] to seek not what is temporal but what is eternal.

They remain with the schoolmaster until they reach the stage when they can be taught to work. Then each is set to the work for which he is recognized to be gifted and capable. When they have thus been educated and have [9]learnt to know and believe in God, they are[10] baptized upon confession of their faith.

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* "Von der Kinderzucht" Rechenschaft (Tr. by Kathleen Hausenberg, 1950) First ed. 1565. References to Scriptures cited are:

1. Ephesians 6:4
2. Tobit 1: 1-12
3. Deuteronomy 6:20-25; 11:18-21
4. Exodus 20:12; Deut. 5:16;
   Eccl.3:1-8; Eph.6:1-3; Col.3:20
5. I Sam.2:30-34; 3:11-14; 4:17-22;
   Eccl. 3:8, 16
6. Genesis 18:17-19
7. Tobit 4:14, 9-11; Deut.6:10-25;
   11: 1-9; Matt.22:36-40;
   Mark 12:28-31; Luke 10:25-28;
   James 1: 17
8. Colossians 3: 1-3
9. Jeremiah 31:33-34; Hebr.8:8-10
10. Acts 8:29-38

APPENDIX D: 2

PETER WALPOT, ON THE UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN IN MORAVIA c. 1558*

(Accusation by the Lutherans)

"We know that the way of communal life in Moravia is an immoral one, and it is particularly cruel that they take away the young children from their parents and that they should be brought up all alike in a common school, and that many children die because of hunger and other neglects. In Summa, such devilish communism is an impossible thing against all nature and law."

Answer (by the Hutterian Brethren)

"You Lutherans should know that our children are dear to us in our hearts before God according to the truth, and that we are most concerned about them. Of that God Himself will bear testimony on the Day of Judgment. Then our slanderers would learn that they have reviled unjustly the way we bring up our children. The children are conscientiously taken care of and educated; it is our endeavor to bring up the children in divine discipline, and to plant in their hearts the right morals and commandments of God.

Now mark well the way of our discipline:

(1) When a child is two or three years of age the parents bring him to the school for the little ones. Here they learn first the sacred prayer.

(2) As soon as he knows the prayer and has some understanding he is taught to do something useful with his hands, the boys with reading and writing, the girls with spinning and sewing, in order to prevent them from tending to mischief.

(3) The children are supervised by assigned sisters and school mothers, and there is also a schoolteacher. They all guide the children in all their daily work including eating and drinking, going to bed and getting up, both outdoors and indoors, so that everything may be done in good discipline and the young people brought up to the glory of God.

(4) At mealtimes the children are taught to give thanks to God before and after meals with folded hands. In school one boy gets up and prays aloud before the others.

(5) Before the children go to bed and also in the morning when they are awakened, the schoolteacher calls all boys and girls together to common prayer. About once a week the teacher gives the children instructions and admonitions in a God-fearing life.

(6) One sister together with an assistant keeps the nightwatch as the need requires. They have to take care of the children throughout the night and provide them with all the needs of the body.

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*Handbüchlein wider den Prozess, book XII, c. 1558. Tr. by R. and B. Friedmann M. Q. R. (1955) 29: 221-222.

APPENDIX D: 3

THE HUTTERITE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE OF 1568*

Herein are recorded several necessary points which the brethren and sisters who are appointed to supervise the schools, together with their assistants, are to observe in the care and discipline of the youth.

In the first place they must constantly keep in mind that they are appointed over the children by the Lord and by His people.

Further, the school masters and school mothers, since they are the ones who are responsible for the good character of the discipline of the school, are to be peaceful and trustful in their relations one to another. There should be a willingness to assist each other with good advice and to maintain a strict and regular order in all phases of the care of the youth, for to be dutiful and peaceful is conducive to good discipline, while discord and indolence are conducive to disorder.

They shall also take proper care in directing and supervising their assistants according to the adopted discipline.

They shall take care that no disunity, strife, or boisterous speaking is heard by the children, but rather by a peaceful cheerful, good-natured, and sober life and quiet walk they shall inspire the youth likewise to quiet and sober living and give them a good example.

They should avoid vain and idle words so that the children shall not have occasion to gossip.

The school masters and sisters shall admonish and ask the boys and girls in their later teens to be diligent in prayer. And it would be well if when the school masters speak with the children once or twice a week, the sisters be present if possible, and thus testify by their example and pattern to their desire to inspire the youth with ideals of piety; the sisters should not absent themselves to go to other places but should give due consideration to the honor of the Lord and the welfare of the youth. Yet the school master should not occupy the time of the children with long preaching and with much reading of many quotations because the children can understand and grasp a little.

When one or more children are guilty of something, either of unbecoming conversation or other foolishness, - likewise the girls when they spin, - it is ordered that not every sister should at once step in and punish but should take care in the fear of God so that the youth should not be hastily disciplined.

For this reason, in order to be better able to give account before God and man, it is believed best that the sisters should report the matter to the brethren in the school or to the school mother and should not be too severe, seeing that the Lord does not deal with us elder ones always according to our deserts, but according to grace.

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*"Schul-Ordnung" Tr. by Harold S. Bender. M. Q. R. (1931) 5: 231-241.

The larger boys are to be punished by a school master and not by a sister, but the middle-sized boys may be punished with the rod by a school mother if the school master is absent and the boy is stubborn and will not submit to the sister's words. But if it is a larger boy, it should be noted and reported to the school master when he comes home.

Likewise the larger girls are to be disciplined by a school mother and not by a brother.

Stealing, lying, and other gross sins, whether done by boys or girls, shall not be dealt with by a sister alone, but shall be disciplined with the approval and advice of a brother.

If punishment with the rod is necessary in the case of a larger boy or girl, it shall be done in the fear of God and with discernment. In case of knavishness, lying, thieving, and unchaste conduct, severity shall be used according to desert. This shall not be done secretly or in a corner, but in the presence of all the children, so that they may learn thereby to have fear of wrongdoing.

The children shall be trained not to resist the rod, but willingly accept punishment. In this way it will be possible to always deal with them in a free manner, more than if they resist, which one shall not and cannot permit them.

A school master shall permit the boys to go out once to the lavatory mornings and evenings, together, and shall himself watch, but shall not refuse the children permission to go out in between times, for the natural processes cannot be controlled by law and it is harmful to obstruct nature too long. The same applies to the girls.

It should also not be difficult for a pious school mother and her assistants to counsel with a brother in the school and to inquire when one wishes to take the children out and let them go home.

Likewise a school master shall have sympathy and cooperation for the sisters and shall yield in matters which do not interfere with the honor of God and good discipline. The bread and meat (sandwiches) may and shall be handed out to the larger children by the school master, except if he does not have time or lacks the food. In that case the school mothers may do this or appoint another sister to do it.

If something special is to be given to the children, such as apples, pears, and other fruit, it shall not be done on the individual decision of anyone, but shall be done on the counsel of several at a proper time. The children's clothing shall not be had in excess; what is necessary shall be kept on hand and be kept clean. The boys' clothing shall be handed out by a brother himself.

The linen cloths shall be in the hands of a school mother and shall be given out by her, but as far as the table cloths for the children are concerned, she shall give it to the table sisters and not to the girls.

The sisters shall exercise diligence that they lift the little children out and into their beds mornings and evenings, and not leave this to the girls so that they themselves may know how the children get in and out of bed. However the girls may help them in carrying the children to and from the beds. They shall likewise clean and wash those who are dirty.

In the morning the girls shall be called at five o'clock in winter time to spin. Then at six o'clock the boys are to be awakened and during the time that the latter are clothing, combing, and washing themselves, the smaller children are to be taken out, dressed, and washed, so that they will be quite ready for prayer and be able to sit at the table. Then the babies are to be taken out, dressed, washed, and after they have had a bit of exercise and have been walking about they may be taken to their meals, so that they are not fed at once after awakening from sleep, which is unnatural.

At evenings one should take particular care not to put the children to bed too soon after eating, which is unnatural for them, but to lead them about for a time after the meal or let them run around, small and large, in the winter time until six o'clock, and in summer time until sunset. And since it is often warm and moist in bed in summer, they shall be allowed to stay up longer at such warm times, but when it is cool they should for this reason be put to bed a little bit earlier.

During the night the nurse (Wächterin) shall take care that the children, both small and great, sleep well and are well covered, so that they may not become cold. Also one of the sisters should help the nurse to watch for a while when the children are going to sleep until the children are all asleep, and the children shall not be given anything to eat in bed or anything to suck except that a sick child may be given something to drink for his sickness. The children that are well shall be allowed to sleep without interruption for it is unwholesome to be feeding the children night and day. Likewise the sleeping children shall not be forced to arise during the night but shall be allowed to sleep, for if anyone has need, nature will of itself awaken them. But if a boy or a girl has some particular unclean habits, such a one may be awakened in order to be cured of such unclean habits, according to good discipline. If it happens once or twice that someone wets the bed, possibly in a dream, it shall be overlooked, with the hope of improvement, but if it occurs frequently the child shall be punished for the same.

The nurse shall likewise not at once begin to strike the child with the rod if a child begins to cry at night, but shall use other methods to quiet it.

When the innocent little children make the bed unclean they shall be diligently dried and one shall not economize with bed clothing and layettes. They shall not be left lie because they cannot ask for help or cannot understand. The nurse shall also take good care to notice when a child cries or screams to hold it for a while over the vessel and cover it well so that it should not get cold from being without cover.

But when the little children who have begun to talk, still make a bed unclean, it may be overlooked two or three times and the children instructed with words, but if this does not help, finally they shall be punished lightly so that they shall learn to keep clean.

But the sisters shall take especial care with the little children, that they be not harsh with them but rather be sympathetic and long-suffering with them on account of their innocence and lack of understanding, just like mothers do with their own children. They shall be concerned in so training the children that they shall not be allowed to become self-willed but shall be gradually trained to love the Lord and as soon as they begin to talk they shall be taught to pray at the proper time.

Further, the brethren and sisters in the schools shall take especial care to avoid giving offence by discipline and punishment in the presence of brothers and sisters from other places who come to visit the school and observe the children. They shall be careful in this matter.

The boys and girls shall not be depended upon to take care of the little children either by day or by night, nor to take them up or lay them down, but the sisters shall be careful to be present, especially when the children get up, so that no one shall be injured.

The brethren in the schools have already been instructed by the elders that they shall not manifest wrath toward the children and shall not strike the children on the head with the fist nor with rods, nor shall they strike on the bare limb, but moderately on the proper place. It is necessary to exercise great discretion and discernment in disciplining children, for often a child can be better trained and corrected and taught by kind words when harshness would be altogether in vain, while another can be overcome by gifts. A third however cannot be disciplined without severity, and does not accept correction. Therefore the exercise of discipline of children requires the fear of God.

One should show sympathy to the little folk who have just started attending school and should not undertake all at once to break the self-will, lest injury come therefrom. For the children who are a bit larger one must also exercise very diligent care so that one can always have a good conscience.

The bed clothing shall be kept clean and shall be regularly changed, and when the little children arise in the morning a sister, or two or three girls, must always be at hand to take care on the stairways that no one falls.

When the children are brought to the school they should be carefully examined and if any one is found to have a contagious disease such as scurvy or French disease (syphilis) or lem,* the same should be instantly separated from the rest in sleeping and drinking and in particular in washing. Also special brushes and combs shall be used in taking care of the hair of those having skin eruptions. Those who have such eruptions shall be put together and not kept with those who are clean. Likewise those who have head diseases. If a child suffers or receives an injury on account of carelessness of whatever sort it may be, the injury shall not be concealed, but help and counsel shall be sought as soon as possible before greater injury comes of it.

And when the school mothers examine the children for bad mouths and reach into a bad mouth with the fingers, they shall be careful that they do not at once with unwashed fingers reach into a healthy mouth and thereby contaminate it, but shall always beforehand cleanse the fingers with a clean cloth and water before they examine and cleanse mouths. They shall

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*The meaning of this German word could not be determined.

likewise demonstrate to the sisters with them how to heal scurvy of the mouth, and not withhold this from them that others also may be able to attend to such things if they are appointed for it.

Brushing shall not be turned over to the girls to do.

In the case of diseased heads and bad mouths the school mother shall take especial care, in particular about contagious diseases, and shall arrange for a separation in all matters, as in part already stated, as for instance in the matter of beds, washing, eating, drinking, using spoons and cups, also in the matter of examining the mouth and sitting on stools.

Once a week the clothes of the children shall be examined for lice, likewise the clothes of the children when they come to school. The new children shall have their heads and clothing examined for lice.

When boys and girls are used outside of school for help in tending the cattle or driving the horses, care shall be taken that they do not go astray since they often like to absent themselves or hide. Therefore they shall appear twice weekly on brushing day.

One should not let the shoes of the children become too hard so that they cause blisters and the parents may have occasion for complaint. Therefore care should also be taken that the clothing and everything else is regularly repaired.

The new children whose parents are still on probation shall not at once be clothed in new clothing, but shall for a time be given the old clothing until their parents have proved themselves worthy members.

The nurses (for sickness) shall diligently stay with the sick children, faithfully care for them, so that no one climbs over the bed or falls on the stairs, and it shall be earnestly impressed upon the mind of the girl in charge that they shall take good care of the children, but shall not be away from them long in case they must leave the bedside.

The food which is to be given to the children they shall not be forced to eat. Drinking shall also be attended to so that drinking is not postponed too long or refused so that the thirst does not become so great that they drink to excess, which is harmful.

And for the sick children especially one should be free to ask the cook for that which they may need; yet this should be done orderly and not each sister run to the cook on her own account, but the request should be made on advice of the school mother.

When children are sick one should not be too severe with them if they ask for this or that, but should in true faithfulness as unto God be diligent in waiting upon them, in lifting and laying down, in cleaning and washing.

And where there are two schools, the small and the large, the two shall be conducted as though they were one, and not separately. The sisters in the two schools, in whichever they may be, shall be in the proper attitude and love toward each other and shall faithfully assist one another in combing and brushing; in bathing and washing, as is necessary. That is, in everything the children of the two schools, whether sick or well, shall form a unit, and fellowship shall be exercised with open heart, without vanity or selfishness.

If the parents who are visiting a school desire to take their children home to themselves for a visit, permission may be given for a definite time by a school master or school mother but such permission shall be given with caution in the fear of God as the circumstances dictate, and those in authority shall have a definite understanding as to whither the children have been taken.

They shall also take care in supervising the larger children who serve as bread cutter, water carrier, bedroom maid, sweeper, dish washer, children's maid, sick nurse, etc., since they have often been found to be inconsiderate, mischievous, thieving and frivolous. Wherefore, those who are older shall take diligent care to supervise and watch over them so that no one shall be found guilty of permitting such conduct and have to be disciplined.

Neither brethren nor sisters shall of themselves undertake or order something new without the counsel, knowledge, or will of the elders. Even though someone knows a better method, it shall not be followed without good counsel.

When the sisters go out into the field or into the garden with the children, they shall be careful, as many of them as find it possible, to stay with the children so that the children do not get into trouble. The school master shall also be along as much as possible.

The larger boys or girls should not by any means be allowed to bump or pull or hit the children.

The sisters shall take special care that the small children shall be kept clean.

The sisters shall also not go away to their rooms on their own business too much but the one shall tell the other.

They shall not carry hot water into the rooms so that no one may be injured.

They shall not bathe the children in too hot water for that is harmful.

They shall not let them sit too long on the stools lest they take cold or do themselves harm.

The wash woman shall be careful in making the fire and in heating water and shall not depend too much upon the girl who is helping her.

The night nurse (Wächterin) shall take good care of the light at night and shall frequently go about among the children to look at them and cover them.

The school mother shall not arrange matters for the sisters or for the girls without the counsel of the school master.

If a child will not keep quiet during the admonition it shall be taken out so that the other children may not become restless, for sometimes one child is itchy, another one thirsty, a third has some other need which one does not know. For this reason it is not possible to bring everything in order by using the rod.

During the day in school one should not attempt to settle everything with blows, but moderation should be used.

Also, no sister shall show disfavor to a child under her care or another child, nor show partiality against one that would prefer not to stay with her.

Neither brothers nor sisters shall show favoritism to particular boys or girls or send them to special places for they soon are overcome by the flattery and become proud.

Likewise the school masters shall not for any reason of their own or on account of business, without the counsel and consent of the elders, seek occasion to be absent from or leave the school. They shall not engage in work outside the school, such as planting or building or working on trifling things and thus neglect their work in the school. They must not by any means to go the markets here and there and buy according to their pleasure but rather they shall ask for the things they need at the place where these things are provided. They shall not occupy themselves with writing and reading and shall not let others take their place who often deal wrongly with the children out of favor or disfavor but they shall themselves supervise the children.

The sisters likewise shall not look after their own interests whether in sewing and mending or such work and shall not depend too much upon the girls and shall not go about too much outside the building and then when they come into the school accept a complaint from a boy or girl and then without proper consideration proceed to deal out punishment. Therefore we instruct them, faithfully to remain in the school and take care of the children since by such diligence discipline frequently becomes unnecessary and can be avoided.

No one shall unwillingly with complaint or impatience serve the needy ones of the Lord in the schools, for there would be no blessing in such work and the children would in consequence have to suffer from violence and rudeness in discipline. For where good will is lacking, there are often unkind words. Such expressions as these may then be heard: "You bad children; one must be continually occupied with you, one cannot do anything for himself," or similar improper things. By such conduct all who hear it would be grieved and the Lord, who hears all things, will take notice and He will punish it in His time. Therefore each one should willingly and gladly do his part to please the Lord.

It is therefore the appeal of us as elders to all of you who have the youth in charge, brethren and sisters, and especially you who are appointed as school masters and school mothers, that you perform your duties faithfully with all diligence as far as is possible by the grace of God, so that this and similar rules of order shall be observed by you and your assistants faithfully and harmoniously so that in these and other necessary points which would be too long to write and possibly also not necessary, a peaceful discipline may be kept in all your care and supervision of the youth, since you must give an account for the same. May you do it with joy as to the Lord in Heaven who will also be a faithful rewarded of your diligence.

In conclusion, let each one deal with the children by day and by night as if they were his own, whether in the matter of giving them to eat and drink or taking up or laying down, or leading about or carrying, or cleaning and washing, whatever is necessary, so that each one may be able to give an account before God and may have a conscience void of offense before the godly and the ungodly.

All this which has been here written and told at some length is a pattern of how counsel should be given to those who are concerned with the schools. At times more should be said and at times less, just as is necessary at each place according to the circumstances. By this each one will know how to conduct himself so that the honour of the Lord may be promoted.

The kitchen help and the waiters shall be told that they shall prepare and distribute with good will the food and drink which has been ordered for the children according to their need whether sick or well, young or old, and they shall not make many words about it.

And if it is necessary to ask for some particular food for a sick child, out of the usual order, they shall avoid using rough words. If what is asked for cannot be given, there should be a clear explanation, so that no one give occasion for complaint to another.

APPENDIX D: 4

PETER WALPOT'S ADDRESS TO THE SCHOOLMASTERS, 1568 (MORAVIA)

Dear Brethren:

We have thought it good to call you together and discuss with you the work of the office which has been assigned to you in the schools, so that you might exercise more diligence to care for the children who have been entrusted to your care by the Lord and by us and that you may direct their minds to honour and fear God, so that they may be brought up in the nurture of the Lord and may receive from their youth the very best at your hands. We desire that you should not engage in other activities which would occupy your time and thus lose your eagerness to be with the children in the schoolroom. You should not waste your time in doing many little things which are not required of you, neither should you permit the manager (Haushalter) to send you to some other place unless it should be but an hour or two distant and the task could soon be performed. If the latter should happen, each one should hasten to return at the earliest possible moment and not leave the sisters alone with the children. You should not depend upon the sisters and the overseers, for they at times show favoritism and then there is occasion for difficulty, especially with the boys, since they are likely to begin to scold them.

But if a school master is in the school room among the children and frequently observes them and quiets them, they will become more circumspect and will be saved from mischief. This is not to be done with severe punishment, that is the rod is not to be applied hard and long, although often teachers have, and desire to have, a reputation of this sort. I do not mean, of course, my brethren, that the children can take care of themselves, that there is enough of the fear of God in them to keep them from evil, for if this were the case a school master would not need to be present. However, the school master is not only to be present in the school room for the children's sake, but also in order to be helpful and kind to the sisters, for they need your oversight just as much as the children, since women are women and the weaker vessel. Have a care that they may not be aroused in their anger and in their complaints against the children and go about among them with rods, as one does among cattle, and permit the flesh to get the upper hand, so that they quickly become angry, as we have ourselves already experienced. A school master who is diligent can prevent such occurrences if he takes his responsibility toward the children seriously and deals with them as if they were his own. By so doing he will prevent ungodly or excessive punishment.

Further, dear brethren, when you are at table together with the sisters, quietness should obtain. You should not be boisterous and converse about matters which are not for the good or edifying, as commonly is the case if one does not take proper care, and thereby, one does not give a good example to the children who hear and see such things. For the children quickly observe this and say: What they forbid us they themselves do. The same care should be taken by the sisters in their work when the children are standing near. If the sisters are not of one mind, if they show dissonance in an abundance of words, if one is self-willed against another and the young girls notice it, they will repeat it to one another and consequently will not have proper regard for those who have failed in this way. And not only that, but they will talk about it. It sometimes happens, and not seldom, that a school master for good reasons enquires: Dear sisters, how about this matter? and gives his counsel and although his counsel is the better, it does not suit the sister's mind. Then she says: "How dare you enquire of this or that; it is not your business to do so," and treats him contemptuously. Such conduct should not be passed by lightly, for the children see and hear such things, especially the girls, but the sisters apparently do not care if only the boys do not know it. For this reason the school master can accomplish nothing with them. But nevertheless complaints come both small and great in matters of food and drink, in regard to clothing, in regard to lying down, going to bed, bathing, washing, or in regard to the waiting which one child has to do for another. But whatever form the complaints take, the school master is ultimately held responsible. If he is able to give a good account of himself, all is well, and this is the reason that we are poisting this out to you, since there are some of your number who have not been in the school work very long and are not acquainted with our customs. There are also some cases where school mothers, especially the older ones, are not willing to give up their old ways nor surrender the authority which they have acquired, and a brother (school master) lacks courage to assert his authority.

It has indeed often been the case, for the parents of the children come to us and say: "My brethren, I have given over myself and my children to the Lord and to the school," and then complain that one of the children has gotten a skin eruption in the school or another ailment, be it on the eyes or the hands or the feet. And then if we speak to the school master in the school about the matter and call him to account because of one or more children, then the school master after much discussion shifts responsibility to the school mother, the school mother to the sisters, bed room maids, or the nurse maids, although they know that the school master was responsible. Perhaps the school mother has at her disposal a nurse maid whom she sends to the sick children on their beds with good and drink and takes it for granted that she will perform her duty faithfully. But alas, often the children are badly tended and possibly if one is so sick that it does not care for what is sent it, it suffers. For such reasons, we say to you, school brethren, that you yourselves are responsible to care for such matters, and we also say to the sisters that they themselves must also look after the sick ones and ask (in the kitchen) for the food which they need.

Also, you, together with the sisters, must pay attention to the shoes of the children, so that they do not have hard shoes which make the feet sore. Where shoemakers are at hand you should have the shoes frequently repaired and greased so that they will be nice and soft and so that not too many shoes are bought, as has happened in some cases and afterward they become too small or are spoiled. And do not depend upon the sisters to do this, and the sisters shall not order things to be made without your knowledge and consent either in regard to shoes or other things. Further, in regard to bed clothing, if a bed has two bed covers, one good one and one not so good, and a child has two night shirts, that is quite sufficient. But if something more is necessary, you should report it to the manager (Haushalter); likewise in regard to woolen clothing, whether for boyr or girls, for the sisters are inclined to dress up the girls for church festivals with dresses and jackets and bodices and then after the festival lay them away and then they become too small in time and much loss is ocassioned. For this reason you yourselves should look after the matter, whether for girls' or boys' clothing, and if new clothing is made for the children, you should turn in the old clothing to be used for lining, since it is probably still worth at least a little. Furthermore, in regard to feather beds or comforts which are given to the school to be used for the children when they go to sleep, when these beds become too small, you should take care that the sisters do not without your knowledge re-cut them and empty out or make larger. You should not permit this, but should have this done with the counsel of the manager wherever it seems necessary. You should not be careless in this matter like some are. You should always reserve a supply and not have the school altogether without such materials.

Further, you should yourself sleep with the children and should be present when they get up and should yourselves look after putting the children to bed and not rely altogether upon the bedroom maid. You should make sure that the children who are well are kept together and those who are not well are kept together. The same caution should be taken to keep those together who have eruption and make sure that the bed clothing for such is washed separately by itself.

Further, in regard to the children who are not well or where there is uncertainty, the bed clothing and night shirts of such should not be mixed with the clothing of the children or washed together with it. It should be kept by itself. Likewise in the food and drink one cannot take too much care, for there is very much danger among so many children. The same thing is true in regard to washing and bathing, the two should not be mixed. You must take care and watch carefully to bathe and wash the weaker children by themselves. You must take care yourself that the sisters do not make the water for bathing too hot for the children. You should feel with your own hands whether it is not too hot, and if it is too hot you should forbid the sisters to use it, for it has often been the case that the skin of the children has become red like a crab and yet they would say: "Why that is not too hot; you are not to bother yourself about such things." But you must not pay attention to such remarks.

Further, if a child has eczema, you should not let it be bathed or washed so often. It often has happened that although a child reported this ailment, nevertheless it has been compelled to bathe, and it was told: "Oh, that will not hurt you, you bad boy, or bad girl."

Further, you should not bathe the children every fortnight, for this is not necessary, but bathe them once in four weeks and wash them every fortnight, unless there is a special reason or on account of bad heads.

APPENDIX D: 5

ANDREAS EHRENPREIS, ON REARING CHILDREN, 1652*

Bringing up children

Principally we should consider with earnestness and zeal the paramount importance of bringing up the children, as we have already mentioned in the first epistle. The separation from the world is as necessary for the children as it is for their elders, since the corrupted nature of man is already astir in childhood and has the urge to grow. Just as iron tends to rust and as the soil will nourish weeds, unless it is kept clean by continuous care, so have the children of man a strong inclination towards injustices, desires and lusts; especially when the children are together with the children of the world and daily hear and see their bad examples. In consequence they desire nothing but dancing, playing, and all sort of frivolities, till they have such a longing for it, that you cannot stop them any more from growing up in it. What they are forbidden to do in the presence of their parents, they will do secretly in their absence, especially when they are in bad company.

Now it has been revealed that many parents are by nature too soft with their children and have not the strength to keep them away from evil. So we have a thousand good reasons, why we should live separated from the world in a Christian community. How much misery is prevented in this way! For do we not hear it often said: How honest and respectable are these people; but look what godless children they brought up! Some show a damnable insolence, others are un-Christian drinkers, and some are given to frivolous playing and dancing. Sometimes father and mother have died long ago and nothing is left of their earthly remains, but their bad reputation still lives among the people who complain, that they once neglected to discipline their children and brought them up disgracefully.

We see this on the terrible example of the priest Eli, who himself led an irreproachable life, but neglected the education of his godless sons. So God the Lord became angry and announced to Eli through a man of God, that he would expel his whole family from the priesthood and exterminate them root and branch. (I Sam. 2.) And in the end, when you read on several chapters, it was fulfilled; for not only Eli and his own family, but also all Israel came to utter ruin, and Eli died a sudden death and his sons perished. (I Sam. 4: 15-22) The enemies captured the ark of God, the seat of His glory, Israel was beaten and the whole city of Nobe was put to the sword, including the women, children, and infants. Only one single man, named Abiathar, escaped, came to David, and became his priest. (I Sam. 22) But the word of the Lord had to be fulfilled and long afterwards Abiathar was expelled from the priesthood. For when Solomon succeeded David in the kingdom, he said to Abiathar: Behold, you are marked for death, but I shall not kill thee; for thou hast carried the Ark of God before my father and hast suffered with my father. (I Kings 2: 26-27) So Solomon expelled Abiathar that he should no longer be priest, thus he fulfilled the word of the Lord, which he had spoken unto Eli in Shilo. God the Lord, made this example for all mankind, but in particular for those who want to be the people of God, that all godly parents should look at it like into a mirror and might not become guilty of bringing souls of poor children into perdition. It is therefore only right to discipline children in school and at home.

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*"Von der Kinderzucht" Ein Sendbrief (1652). Tr. by John F. Liebe from edition of 1953: 124-129.

Marrying into the world

In the light of God's plan it is a bad stain upon the Lord's congregation, if parents, teachers and ministers of our faith allow, that believers and unbelievers unite in marriage. The injustices and evils which result cannot be overestimated; and many found out in sorrow and pain, that disorder, apostacy, and confussion results because of it. Although this is not always the case, it is plainly against the Law and the commandment of the Lord; for it is written: Thou shalt not make marriages with unbelievers; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son, etc., lest the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly. (Deut. 7: 3-4) And again: If you do in any wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even those who remain among you, and shall make marriages with them and go unto them, and they to you; know for a certainty, that the Lord your God will no more drive away any of these nations; but they shall be snares and traps unto you etc. (Joshua 23: 12-13)

At the time when Israel was in captivity and married strangers by necessity, Esra plucked his beard and would not rest, till they put away all foreign wives, children, sons and daughters. (3 Esra 8, 9; 2 Esra 13) Will they not pass judgement, on the Day of the Lord, against those who married unbelievers out of lust and pleasure without any necessity? Now there is no doubt that one can find rogish arguments here as in other things, cover ones life with fig-leaves and quote Paul's saying: If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. (I Cor. 7,12) Here we should go to the foundation of the scriptures and relize, that the apostle does not mean to say that believers and unbelievers should marry. His point is this: Since at that time many who just embraced the faith and sometimes only a wife or husband had been converted, they should not part, if they were pleased to dwell with each other. To make himself quite clear, he does not speak of people who are going to get married, but says: If a brother hath a wife, etc. We know quite well that God the Lord always hated marriages with unbelievers and that they were never very successful, as can be seen from Solomon and his foreign women, from Esau who lost his blessing and from Samson, who lost happiness, eyesight and his life. (I Kings 11; Judges 14-16)

So all pastors, teachers and elders who permit marriages like that of Samson, cannot present to the Lord a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. (Ephes. 5, 27) You cannot find anything in the whole New Testament which gives us such permission. Christ the Lord did not allow one of his followers to go and burry his father, nor did he permit another to bid farewell to those who were at home in his house. (Luke 9, 59-62) What would he have said, if one would have asked for permission to go and marry an unbelieving man or women. God forbid. So the matter rests mainly with the pastors and the ministers; for if the sheep go astray and get lost, we blame the shepherd. Furthermore, from this disorder another trouble arises after the death of such parents, when the property is withheld from the believers and the poor. For after many arguments and quarrels, after fighting and biting, the unbelievers usually keep the money for the like of them by shear force. Where is here the wisdom of the pious Naboth who, for his conscience sake, said to king Ahab: Far be it from me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. (I Kings 21; Lev. 25; Num. 36)

The whole trouble is that people are too weak in love, have no communion, no order and no obedience. They and especially the rich do what they please; and the proverb comes true: If one misses only the uppermost rung of the ladder, he falls down over all the others.

Giving children into the service of the world

It is also a serious abuse and a great danger to the soul, that a good many of you give your children who are our own flesh and blood, into the service of the unbelievers, sometimes even into inns and hotels, usually though driven by poverty. Now speaking generally of all the world, the children are our noblest, highest, and dearest possession. It is therefore our duty to take care of them with all diligence, for we shall have to give an account of them on the Lords great day of Judgement. Some sent their children out into the world in stark haughtiness, to give them more knowledge and experience; but many of them drift into the world and lose their fathers' and mothers' faith. This indeed means to neglect the salvation of the young. Why carry the poor lambs to the wolf and throw the poor youth into perdition? They see, hear, and learn all sorts of godless things, till their souls finally perish in misery.

Who can answer for this before God? But if you cannot find it in the Holy Scriptures and if your conscience does not give you the right understanding, you might consider Menno Simons' teaching, where he writes in his "Fundamentals": Pious parents would rather see their children die by fire at the stake in pain than live in the pomp and splendour of the world and grow up and marry therein. Now whosoever loves such danger, he must fall therein and perish. (Sirach: 3, 26) For all the saints admonish us to leave the world and not to go into it to become involved and intermixed therein. That is why we confess in public that these dangers must be avoided. People may reproach or slander us if they so desire. While the world must uphold their own judgement, we are writing this nevertheless for all zealous and those who seek for counsel and clarification; because so much depends on man's salvation and eternal life.

APPENDIX D: 6

AN ADMONITION TO PARENTS AND CHILDREN, AND THEIR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES*

Dear Brethren and Sisters:

The Christian upbringing of children is truly one of the most necessary tasks that can be accomplished in this world.

Little can be done about adults. This, daily experiences show abundantly. And the proverb "One may wash or rub whichever way, I'll stay as I am" is quite fitting.

But if children are taught in their early youth to deny and deaden self-will, then there is a good spiritual soil on which young trees and plants can grow which in time and with the blessing of the Lord can turn into Christian young men and women.

It is the duty of Christian parents to watch over their children, to know at all times where they are and what they are doing, and with whom they are with. The children should not leave the house unnoticed, stay away for hours and then come home without being asked about where they had been.

Dear Parents, keep therefore your eyes on your children, check up on their company, do not let them run around and loiter; because experience shows that this is dangerous and they can be exposed to much evil influence.

When a rich person dies, people ask "what has he left behind?" One should much rather ask "What has he taken along?" It is the children whom we take along. They constitute that great treasure entrusted to us by God that we are to keep and guard carefully, so that we do not spoil it, and so that one day we give an account to God with clear consciences saying that our children are with us [illegible] and that they want to enter into eternal life together with us.

What great damage is done by lack of discipline! How else can one explain these bad times we live in, and the bad, (poor), lukewarm and spoiled Christians. All depends on good Christian discipline (upbringing) of children.

How many parents are blinded by Satan. No longer can they see the meanness of their children. They remain silent and do no longer punish, teach, and admonish them, but let them have their way and let them grow in wickedness, just like Eli did who looked on without much concern. With Eli we also see how angry God was about him.

We have a clear christian teaching that all God-fearing christian parents should be like powerful salt, they should be like a light; they should be upright faithful teachers in their own homes.

The high priest Eli was guilty because he had not punished his children. His Godless sons desecrated the temple at Shilo. They ignored the Lord and caused great annoyance in Israel. Eli did not punish them adequately. Therefore the Lord himself had to deal out the punishment for Eli.

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*From Dariushof. Another "sermon" on child rearing not included here is based on a Biblical passage from Ephesians 6:1-3.

We see here that parents who cater to their children's whims and do not punish them, bring at the end punishment upon themselves.

Sirach says with good reason in chapter 16: Don't rejoice for having children who do not turn out well, and don't pride yourself that you have many children. If they do not fear God, then do not depend on them. It is better to have one pious child than a thousand Godless ones. And it is better to die without children than to have Godless ones.

And again it says in the 30th chapter: He who loved his child, disciplines him. He will rejoice in this child later on and need not be ashamed of him among his friends. When the father dies, it is as if he lived on because his own image lives on in the child.

Moses says: When you see your brother's oxen and sheep go astray, do not ignore them, but take them back to your brother's house. But if your brother is not nearby, keep the animals in your house, until he comes for them. Now when I treat the unreasonable animals of my brother that way how much more reason do I have to look after the souls of my own children who can easily be led astray by their own young flesh in which nothing good dwells.

Moses also said: When you see your brother's oxen or donkey stumble and fall on the way, you should not leave him, but help him up.

How much more must I care for my children through discipline and admonition who are burdened under the heavy weight of their sin because of the poisonous snake's temptations, lest these children end up in eternal darkness.

Therefore all parents should lead their children to Christ in their youth. But instead, many lead their children away from Christ, and introduce them to world and vanity by their own poor examples.

How often are the poor children angered by parents who lead a disorderly, sinful and unchristian life and do not teach them anything worthwhile.

Most of these children will turn to worldly vanity and fleshy pleasures, because their parents do the very same thing.

They see their parents caring day and night for temporal things. This is their preoccupation. Therefore the same desires are planted in the children.

You parents, ask yourselves whether you are not most of all concerned that your children learn something so that they can get along well in the world and have no basic needs. You care little about the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, about the spiritual, Godly, eternal and heavenly things.

Oh, all you parents whom God gave children, let it be your foremost goal to lead these children to Christ by sincere prayer, God-pleasing conduct and Christian teaching.

All Christian parents who love God and are obedient to Him, should teach their children to be obedient also and to do God's will in everything.

For when children from little up are used to obey their God-fearing parents then they will have formed a habit of that later on, and it will be a lot easier for them to obey Jesus Christ.

If the children, however, do not learn obedience, but do what they want, they will turn out to be Godless people who walk in sin, wickedness and injustice.

Therefore all you parents, teach your children to be obedient, raise them in the fear and admonition of the Lord, get them used to obedience so that they break their own will and deny it. But this must be done with wisdom, good sense and with care.

If the children are taught well they will be all the more ready to later on do God's will and be obedient to Him.

If the children are left to do as they please and to be disobedient, they cannot later on obey God, but will follow their own will.

Parents who are negligent in these respects and who do not do their duty will have to give an account before God.

At the last judgement all these souls who were deprived of discipline, these children who did not turn out well, will cry Woe over their parents who will find this unbearable.

All this is certain to happen, and all parents, whom God gave children, have good reason to [illegible] as a serious admonition to them if their own and their children's salvation means anything to them.

Admonition to the children also

Now I want to seriously admonish you children, since you have come to an age where you can reason, that you follow the good example of your parents with obedience; and that you consider this a grace of God, to have such loving and faithful parents who teach and guide you. There are many poor children who do not have all this.

Do not ignore this grace. Let yourselves be led to Christ in your youth, follow your faithful parents accept their christian admonition and teaching as a precious gift of the Most High and count yourselves blessed among all others who do not have such parents.

Let not the prayer, example and teaching of your parents be in vain. Woe unto you, if you do otherwise. You will have to give an account before God if you disregard His grace willfully. But if you walk in the footsteps of your good parents and together with them follow after the Lord Jesus towards Godliness and Christian conduct you will eternally rejoice with them.

Children who are able to reason should therefore come to Christ through their believing parents and teachers. They should not be stubborn but follow their parent's examples and be obedient. It often happens that good God-fearing parents give their children good teaching, seek to bring them to Christ in fervent prayer, in sighing and in imploring God, and by their good example.

The children, in return, do not want to listen, are disobedient and stubborn, the world is in their hearts. Therefore they stay away from Christ, do not come to him, do not grow in salvation (sanctification). Blessed are indeed the children who listen, who are obedient and who accept the good, turning away from the world and who let themselves be led to Christ.

All you young people who recognized the grade of God, do not resist, but accept what is good, obey, let yourselves be led to Christ and ponder the account you will have to render at the Day of Judgement. There your dear parents will stand before you and say: "My God, you know how I held these my children up to you in prayer, how I have implored you, how I have sighed over them. You know that I have always taught them Christian virtues, that I was an example for them. But they resisted. They did not want to come to you."

What will you be able to answer them, and what excuse will you find? You know, you could have found salvation. But then you will be lost, and it will be your own fault.

God is calling men early in the morning to his vineyard. That means early in their youth, as soon as such a person is able to reason. God does indeed show His grace by working in their souls.

How many will have to confess that God called them in their youth by his Spirit, by his Word and in many other ways. How many a child recognised then that the world is vain, and that particular things are considered sinful.

Oh, you young children, who can feel that God is calling you, that he beacons through his Word, turn to him early and go to his vineyard. Start early in his service and obey him, and you will find how profitable it will be for you.

Don't run after the possessions of this world. Don't hang your heart on deceitful riches; the most important thing for you is to turn your minds in your youth away from temporal things and to become rich in the Lord. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.

Could one only impress this on you, young people, as the first and foremost, to become rich in the Lord and to consider temporal things as of lesser importance. If one could do that, you would not have to strive so hard later on.

In the innermost of your souls, dear youth, flee from sin. You will not regret it in your old age.

Watch your hearts, at all times. As soon as there is something in them that is contrary to the will of God, ask God for the strength to overcome.

In all seriousness watch out for opportunities that lead to sin. If you do that you will grow in holiness. Daily experience however shows us, how little this happens.

Therefore, dear children and young people, wait not and serve the Lord early in your youth. Enter into His holy life and death by mortifying the old man. The earlier you do this, the firmer will be the foundation you have when you are older. Begin early to deny selfwill, all sin, and every action that would be displeasing to God. And you will experience that such a discipline will become increasingly easier for you.

From little up learn to disregard that which is mortal and visible and to seek that which is eternal, heavenly, and invisible. The visible things perish but the invisible is eternal!

Seek Him early, who had also sought and found you early, who has reconciled you with God, who has shed His blood for you. He is your dearest treasure, He is the treasure of our souls. Therefore give Him your heart.

Oh, young souls, how happy you will be if you observe this; what rich reward will wait for you in your old age, if you turn from the world with its vanity and enter into the death of Jesus, that is, give body and soul to the Lord Jesus. Amen.

APPENDIX D: 7

THE LONG CHILDREN'S PRAYER*

The long children's prayer which they pray in the evening before they go to sleep, and in the morning when they rise, reads thus:

Oh Thou almighty merciful and eternal God, Who hast wonderfully created all things in Heaven and on earth, the waters and all that is within them, and hast in Thy grace created us in Thine own image, we do thank Thee.

Oh holy Father, we praise Thy holy name, and Thy great and unspeakable grace and mercy and we pray to Thee from our heart, dearest Father, that Thou wouldst look kindly down from Heaven on us poor and miserable little orphans (Waisen, sic); let us be wholly dedicated to Thee, bestow on us Thy blessing and Thy Heavenly wisdom.

Oh Thou good and merciful God and Father, plant in us Thy Godly will, and from our youth let us grow in Thy fear, Thy obedience, Thy wisdom and justice so that we learn to serve Thee, to praise and honor Thee together with Thy holy people, Thy elect ones on earth, those whom Thou hast chosen from among all the peoples of the earth, who therefore are being mocked, persecuted and hated by all men. Oh Lord, strengthen and comfort Thy holy people and keep them in Thy truth, so that we can remain in Thy grace holy and unspotted before Thy holy face. Oh holy Father, we small and dependent children ask Thee from all our heart to give our parents whom Thou hast given to us in Thy grace and whom Thou hast placed over us for our discipline, grace and strength, understanding and wisdom so that they can raise us according to Thine holy will and that they can fight that which is bad and teach that which is good.

Oh holy Father, we pray for our people all over the world who are in prison, in pain and suffering, in misery, [illegible] among unbelievers, [illegible] strengthen them and comfort them by the power of Thine holy Spirit and keep them in Thy truth, holy and unspotted before Thy holy face.

Oh dear Father, we give ourselves to Thee. Do with us what is pleasing to Thee so that Thou wouldst never take from us nor from all Thy people Thy grace and mercy. All this we pray and ask of Thee, Oh Thou dearest and only Father, through our dear Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Oh Thou one true and merciful God, we also pray as Thy child Jesus Christ has taught us and bidden us to do: Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

Highly praised, lauded, honored and blessed be Thou in us and through us and in all Thy saints with all Thine Heavenly hosts through our dear Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

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*Rudolf Wolkan (1923), 122. Originating from Hieronimus Käls, c. 1535. Tr. by Ilse Reist.

APPENDIX D: 8

CHILDREN'S TABLE PRAYER*

Vor und nach dem Essen

O Herr allmöchtiger, Ewiger und Barmherziger Gott und Vater, wir deine Kindlein sagen dir von Herzen Lob, Ehr und Dank. .Und wir preisen Deinen Heiligen gross-möchtigen und Herrlichen Namen. Und deine grosse und unaussprechliche Gnad und Barmherzigkeit, Die Du uns Erzeugst und bewiessen hast, durch Jesum Christum. Und das du noch alle Zeit so treulich und väterlich für uns Sorg trägst als für Deine Kindelein, Und speisest und tränkest und beides an Leib und an Seel. Und machst uns allezeit, und in allen Dingen, ein gnadiges auskommen. Darum preissen wir Dich und loben Dich, Und sagen Dir Dank, durch Jesum christum, von ganzen unsern Herzen. In Deinen Heiligen Himmel dort oben. Immer und Ewiglich. Amen.

(Translation)

Before and after meals

O Lord, almighty, eternal and merciful Father, we, your children, give you praise, honor and thanks from àll our heart, and we praise your holy and almighty and wonderful name, for your great and unspeakable grace and mercy, which you have shown us through Jesus Christ, and that you care for us all so faithfully and fatherly as your children. You feed us and give us drink, in body and soul, and you are merciful to us in all things and at all times. Therefore we praise you and glorify you and give thanks to you, from all our heart, through Jesus Christ, in your heavenly kingdom there above, for ever and ever. Amen.

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*Rudolf Wolkan (1923), p. 122. Originating from Jeronimus Käls, c. 1535. Tr. by Ilse Reist.

APPENDIX D: 9

KINDERGARTEN PRAYERS*

Morning prayers

1. The Lord's Prayer.

2. Highly praised, highly honored, highly extolled, and highly glorified be God in us, through us, with His holy heavenly hosts, through our dear Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.

3. With you, O Jesus, I rise; with you I begin my course; I will always be mindful of you. Savior, never leave me! Be with me all through the day, in my work and in my thoughts. I am yours; you are mine, my salvation and my comfort. Until in heaven I will praise you evermore. Amen.

4. O dear God, I pray that you will make me a godly child, and if I should miss becoming this, then take me away from this earth. Take me to your heavenly kingdom; make me like an angel. Amen.

5. Lord, my rock and my salvation, let the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart be pleasing to you. Amen.

6. Happy I woke up; I slept all night long. I thank you, my heavenly father, that you want to be with me always. Watch over me this day, that I may not suffer any harm. Amen.

Evening prayers

The Lord's Prayer.

Repeat #2 above.

Now this day is over. As I look over my conscience, I have done little that was good. I have sinned much. Let, O God, the penalty of sin never be upon me, by your grace. Give, O Lord, peaceful rest, so that I can wake up in the morning cheerful and well. May I also grow in piety and live and die in Christ, to inherit your Kingdom. O this is my heart's deepest desire. The peace of God be with me. Amen.

O Jesus, take me in your protection. You Son, wash me with your blood. O Holy Ghost, guide me. Jesus for you I live and die. I am your child forever. Amen.

I am a little child. And my strength is weak. I want to be blest, but I do not know how to go about it. My Savior you were too good to me, a poor little child. You have saved me from my sin, through your precious blood.

Repeat #4 above.

Repeat #5 above.

Only in Jesus' blood and wounds have I also found rest. This alone, I say, will be my comfort. Amen.

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*Dariushof 1963. Tr. by Ilse Reist.

When the children fall asleep, the stars wake up and little angels come from afar to watch over the good children all night. Amen.

Fourteen angels watch over me.* Two by my head; two by my feet; two at my right; two left; two cover me; two watch over me; two lead me to heavenly paradise to God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Dearest Father, teach me how a child should love you.
Give me a child-like heart when I feel sorrows and pain.
O my God, I pray you, make out of me a good child, that I would be
Obedient and free of my own will.
Teach me how I ought to pray.
O my God, you know it well,
When I kneel before your throne, come and dwell in my heart. Amen.

My eyes are closing.
Dearest Father, watch over me.
You have done more for me than I can repay.
Thanks to you and help me,
That tomorrow I can do better.

Then mother and child;
Cattle and fowl are tired at nightfall;
God has already seen to it that the sun sets,
And that the quiet night comes.
See the dark night coming;
O dear Father, watch.

God, under your blessing I go to rest.
Your name be praised.
My life and my end are in your hands.
I commend my spirit to you. Amen.

Child's first prayer

(Repeated to sleeping infants as early as three months)

Ich bin klein,	I am a little child
Mein Herz ist rein	My heart is pure
In Jesu Namen	In Jesus' name
Schlaf ich ein.	I go to sleep.
Die lieben Engelein,	The lovely Angels
Werden meine Wächter sein.	Will watch over me.
Amen	Amen.

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*Note the similarity to Engelbert Humperdinck's (1854-1921) operetta "Hansel and Gretel". Libretto by Adelheid Wette. Evening prayer; end of act two:

When at night I go to sleep,	Abends, will ich schlafen gehn,
Fourteen angels watch do keep:	Vierzehn Engel um mich stehn,
Two my head are guarding,	Zwei zu meinem Haupt,
Two my feet are guiding,	Zwei zu meinen Füssen,
Two are on my right hand,	Zwei zu meiner Rechten,
Two are on my left hand,	Zwei zu meiner Linken,
Two who warmly cover,	Zwei, die mich decken,
Two who o'er me hover,	Zwei, die mich wecken,
Two to whom 'tis given	Zwei, die mich weisen
To guide my steps to Heaven.	Zu Himmelsparadiesen.

APPENDIX D: 10

ADULT TABLE PRAYERS

Tischgebet

Wir bitten Dich Herr Gott Himmlischer Vater, Segne uns alle diese Deine Gaben, die wir von Deiner Milde güte Hand zu uns nehmen und Empfangen werden, durch Jesum Christum. Amen.

Tischgebet nach den Essen

Gott lob und dank, für Speise und Trank. Gottes Segen hat uns gespeisset, Leiblich. Herr wir bitten Dich speisse uns auch viel mehr geistlich, durch Jesum Christum. Amen.

TRANSLATION

Table prayer

We pray Lord God our heavenly Father, bless these gifts of thine, which we have received from thy rich and gracious hand. Through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Table prayer after eating

We praise and thank thee God for food and drink. God's blessing has given us this natural food. Lord give us much more the spiritual food, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Another table prayer

(Used on Sunday and for wedding meals)

Wir danken Gott für Deinen Gaben, die wir von Dir Empfangen haben, wir bitten Dich unsern Liebern Herrn, Du wolltest uns hinfort mehr bescheeren. Du wollest uns speisen mit Deinen Wort, auf das wir sattwerden, hier und dort. Ach lieber Vater Das wollest uns geben, nach dieser Zeit das Ewige Leben Gottes Segen hat uns gespeisset. Herr wir bitten Dich speisse uns auch geistlich, durch Jesum Christum. Amen.

APPENDIX D: 11

TEACHER'S ADMONITIONS TO THE CHILDREN*

(Opening)

Liebes Kind, bleibe gern im niedrigen Stande; das ist besser dennAlles, da die Welt nach trachtet. Je höher du bist, je mehr demüthige dich, so wird dir der Herr Hold sein. Was deines Amtes nicht ist, das lass deinen Vorwitz. Sirach 3: 19, 20, 21.

(Close)

Gute Kinder sind folgsam, gehorsam, friedliebend, gottesfürchtig, und in Abwesenheit ihrer Eltern, Lehrer und Vorgesetzten eben so ordentlich, als in ihrer Gegenwart; gehen gern in die Schule und lernen ohne Zwang, mit Lust. Sie gefallen darum auch Gott und Menschen, und werden ihres Gehorsams und Fleisses wegen geliebet und gelobet. Wohlerzogne und gutgesittete Kinder sindimmer freundlich, nie eigensinnig und mürrisch, und grüssen die Leute, welchen sie begegnen, oderzu denen sie kommen.

TRANSLATION

Dear child, content yourself gladly with a lowly place, this is better than all which the world desires. The higher your place the more you should humble yourself. Thus the Lord will look upon you with favor. Do not interfere in things that are not your concern. Sirach 3: 19, 20, 21.

Good children are obedient, peace loving and God fearing. They are as orderly in the absence of their parents, teacher, or superior as they are in their presence; they like to go to school and study with pleasure, without being forced to do so. Therefore they are pleasing to God and fellowman, and they are appreciated and praised because of their obedience and their industry. Well bred and well mannered children are always friendly, never obstinate or sullen. They greet the people they meet, or the people they visit.

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*Tr. by Ilse Reist. From Dariushof. Many Sprüche (sayings), of which these are examples, are repeated by the schoolmaster. They vary from one colony to another but they are selected by the teacher and emphasized and memorized by the children in accord with the preferred relationship pattern.

APPENDIX D: 12

CATECHISM QUESTIONS*

Some questions and answers for those who desire righteousness

Faith	Q.	Do you have the right faith?
	A.	Yes.
	Q.	What is the right faith?
	A.	A gift of God.
	Q.	What effects the right faith?
	A.	A pious, Godly life.
	Q.	What is the right living faith?
	A.	The belief in God's word.
Love	Q.	What is love?
	A.	The fulfilling of the commands of God.
Hope	Q.	What is hope?
	A.	That one puts all his sufferings, hopes and trust in God.
Baptism	Q.	On what name are you baptized?
	A.	On the name of Jesus Christ.
	Q.	How is man baptized in the death of Christ?
	A.	When man walks in newness of life.
	Q.	What is the right wedding garment?
	A.	A clean and good conscience.
	Q.	How can Christ become man in us?
	A.	When we place our will into God's will.
New birth	Q.	How is man born again?
	A.	Through the word of God, and of water and the Spirit.
	Q.	How does it take place?
	A.	By believing God's word.
	Q.	What is the meaning of water baptism?
	A.	That man faithfully gives himself to God and the Church.
	Q.	What is the new birth?
	A.	When man sins no more.
	Q.	What is the meaning of baptism?
	A.	When man kept all that man had promised.
Communion	Q.	Why did Christ institute communion?
	A.	For a remembrance of his bitter suffering and death.
	Q.	What is the meaning of breaking the bread?
	A.	That his body also had to be broken.
	Q.	What is the meaning of the cup?
	A.	Christ's suffering.
	Q.	What is the old man?
	A.	Flesh and blood.
	Q.	What is the new man?
	A.	Where actual or right renewal is achieved.
	Q.	From what did Christ save you?
	A.	From the power of sin and the devil.

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*Tr. by Glen L. Bruce, from Einige Fragen und ihre Beantwortung für die reifere Jugend. Die Hutterischen Brüder in Amerika, Elm Creek, Manitoba, 1957, 34 pp. Part Two: The topics at left have been added.

God	Q.	How many God's are there?
	A.	There is but one God; but three names: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
	Q.	Who created you?
	A.	God the Father.
	Q.	Who is God the Father?
	A.	The eternal God who made heaven and earth.
Son	Q.	Who is the Son of God?
	A.	He is the eternal Word, who was with God from eternity.
	Q.	From whom did he receive his humanity?
	A.	From Mary his mother.
	Q.	What is the Holy Spirit?
	A.	The invisable power of God.
	Q.	How can a person receive the Holy Spirit?
	A.	Through industrious prayer and by God keeping us.
	Q.	Can we also achieve righteousness by our own works?
	A.	No. Only by the grace of God.
	Q.	How can we receive forgiveness of sins?
	A.	Through true faith in Jesus Christ.
	Q.	How does one receive faith?
	A.	From the word of God.
Baptism	Q.	What should motivate a person to be baptized?
	A.	The comforting promises in the word of God.
	Q.	What benefits do we receive from baptism?
	A.	We become members of the body of Christ.
	Q.	How should a person act after baptism?
	A.	You should keep your pledge to God.
Man (image)	Q.	What is God's image?
	A.	God's righteousness, holiness, and eternal life.
Fall	Q.	How did man lose God's image?
	A.	By falling into sin and disobeying the creator's command.
	Q.	What do we deserve for our sin ?
	A.	The wrath of God and eternal damnation.
Salvation	Q.	Who saved you from sin, death, and damnation?
	A.	God the Son.
Son	Q.	What is the name of the God the Son:
	A.	Jesus Christ.
Original sin	Q.	What is original sin? (Erbsunde)
	A.	The tendency to sin.
	Q.	Does original sin harm man?
	A.	No. Not if he repents of the sin.
	Q.	What is the inner shame?
	A.	When man has sinful thoughts, which he should dispose of.
Poor in spirit	Q.	What is meant by the poor in spirit?
	A.	When man walks in true humility.
Alms	Q.	Which are right alms?
	A.	When man proves all his abilities in his work.
Communion	Q.	How should man act and prepare for communion?
	A.	Man should prove himself a worthy partaker of the table.
	Q.	Which persons are eligible?
	A.	All baptized and faithful persons.
	Q.	What is the Kingdom of God?
	A.	The Kingdom of God is piety, righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

New birth	Q.	Must every person be born again?
	A.	Yes, without the new birth no one can see the Kingdom of God.
	Q.	How does man estimate the cost?
	A.	One must consider if he is able to carry it out.
	Q.	Why did Christ suffer?
	A.	For the sake of our sins.
	Q.	Why did Christ come to earth, born as a man?
	A.	That he could rectify the fall of Adam.
Church	Q.	What is the Christian Church?
	A.	It is the assembly of the faithful and pious.
	Q.	Through what means is one received into the church?
	A.	Through baptism.
Baptism	Q.	What is baptism?
	A.	The dying of the old man.
Conscience	Q.	What is the gnawing worm?
	A.	A bad conscience.
	Q.	What is the new creature?
	A.	A new, born again Christian.
Cross	Q.	When did the snake bruise the heel of the son of God?
	A.	On the cross where he suffered for us.
Greatest Commandment	Q.	What is the greatest command in the law?
	A.	To love God with all your strength and mind.
Pearl	Q.	What is the meaning of the pearl which the man found?
	A.	The right pearl is Christ, the pure word of God.
Circumcision	Q.	What is the meaning of circumcision in the New Testament?
	A.	Baptism.
	Q.	What did it mean and point out in the Old Testament?
	A.	It was a witness of a covenant with God.
	Q.	How is man's heart spiritually circumcised?
	A.	Man is circumcised from unrighteousness by the living word of God.
	Q.	Who is the stone of offense and the rock of scandal?
	A.	Our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the whole world is offended.
Fruits of the Spirit	Q.	How does Paul name the fruits of the Spirit?
	A.	Love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and chastity.
	Q.	Where does faith come from?
	A.	From hearing the preaching.
	Q.	For what did God create man?
	A.	For the praise, honor and laud of his name.
Devil	Q.	What is the image of the devil?
	A.	Sin and he who wills to sin takes on the image of the devil.
	Q.	What is sin?
	A.	The transgression of the law.
Fasting	Q.	What is correct fasting?
	A.	When man refrains from all sin and unrighteousness.
	Q.	Who is the helper and encourager of the faithful?
	A.	The Holy Spirit and the unction.

State Q. Is government ordained of God?
A. Yes.
Q. For what purpose is it ordained?
A. To correct and punish Godless people.
Q. Can rulers also be Christians?
A. Yes. If they follow Christ and forsake their own will.

Christ's work Q. What did Christ accomplish through his life, death, and shed blood?
A. Heaven and eternal life.

Circumcision Q. What is meant by the foreskin?
A. The sinful lusts and desires.

Fruits Q. What are the fruits of the lips?
A. They make known his name, they praise, honor, and laud him.

Deny self Q. How does man deny himself?
A. When he loses his own will and gives himself with singleness of heart to God and his Church.

Promises Q. What promise do they have in the scriptures?
A. They have encouraging promises in scripture. God will cause them to rejoice in his presence forever.

Amen.

APPENDIX D: 13

CURRICULUM MATERIALS IN THE GERMAN SCHOOL*

Hymnbooks

Gesang-Büchlein. Lieder für Schule und häuslichen Gebrauch. Erste Auflage, 1919. Stand Off Colony, Alberta. Zweite Auflage 1930, Ft. Macleod. Dritte Auflage, 1940. Vierte Auflage, 1941. Fünfte Auflage, 1950. Sechste und Siebente Auflage, 1961; Cayley, Alberta. (666 pp. 1961 ed.)

Gesang-Büchlein. Gesammelt aus den Liedern der Hutterischen Brüder. Lorenz R. Tschetter, Riverside Colony, Macleod, Alberta. 1949.

Lieder Büchlein für Schul-Kinder. Newton Siding, Manitoba. 1958. 75 pp.

Gesangbuch. Eine Sammlung geistlicher Lieder zur Allgemeinen Erbauung und zum Lobe Gottes. Mennonitisches Verlagshaus, Scottdale, Pennsylvanien. 1954. 890 pp. Known among the colonies as "Lutherisches Gesangbuch."

Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder. Herausgegeben von den Hutterischen Brueder in Amerika. Scottdale, Pennsylvanien. Mennonitisches Verlagshaus. 1914. 894 pp. Zweite Auflage, Christian Press, Winnipeg. 1953, 632 pp. Dritte Auflage, Cayley, Alberta, 1962, 894 pp. Known as "Die Väter Lieder."

Spelling and grammar books

A B C - Buchstabir- und Lesebuch, zum Gebrauch für deutsche Schulen in den Vereinigten Staaten. The Evangelical Press, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. n. d. 144 pp.

Aufgaben zur Rechtschreibung, Wortkunde, Zeichensetzung, Sprachlehre und Stilbildung. Von Richard Lange. Band 1 und 2. The Christian Press, Ltd., Winnipeg. 144 pp.

Schreiblesefibel für den Unterricht der Elementarklassen. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri. 65 pp.

Herald (früher Witters) Deutsch-Englische Fibel, Erstes Lese- und Gesangbuch für Schule und Haus Mit vielen Bildern. The Herald Book and Printing Co., Inc., Newton, Kansas. 118 + 24 pp.

Deutsches Sprachbuch, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rechtschreibung für die Unterabteilung, von D. P. Heidebrecht. Sardis, British Columbia. Fünfte Verbesserte Auflage. Verlag von D. W. Friesen u. Sons, Ltd. Altona, Manitoba. 29 pp.

Erstes Übungsbuch für den Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache. Unterstufe. Für das 3. und 4. Schuljahr. D. W. Friesens Sons, Altona, Manitoba. 1953. 47 pp. Imprint of Concordia Publishing House.

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*While these items were found in the sample colonies studied, they were not used by all the schools. Use made of these materials varies greatly among colonies, but all make extensive use of "scribblers" into which hymns and memory work is copied.

APPENDIX D: 13

Catechisms and readers

Das Neue Testament unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi, nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers. (Contains also the Psalms). Der Ganze Psalter des Königes und Propheten Davids, Halle a. S., 1913. Macmillan Hutterian Brethren, Inc., Cayley, Alberta, Canada. 1959. 672 + 168 pp.

Katechismus, oder Kurze und einfache Unterweisung aus der Heiligen Schrift. In Fragen und Antworten. Twenty-sixth ed. 1954. 68 pp.

Einige Fragen und ihre Beantwortung für die reifere Jugend. Die Hutterischen Brüder in Amerika. Plum Coulee, Manitoba. 1961. 34 pp.

Kurze Fragen für Kinder in der Schule. Die Hutterischen Brüder in Amerika. 10 pp.

Witter's Neues Zweites Lesebuch für Amerikanische Freischulen. Gedruckt von D. W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd. Altona, Manitoba. 1954. 188 pp.

Biblische Geschichten mit Bildern für Wochen- und Sonntagsschulen. Published by Reading Bible House, Reading, Pennsylvania. Copyright 1878 and 1906. 293 pp.

Biblische Geschichten des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Erste Auflage, 1951. Herausgegeben von den Hutterischen Brüder in Canada, Lethbridge, Alberta. 222 pp. Issued in larger typeface and new edition at Macmillan Colony, Cayley, Alberta. 1959.

Erstes Deutsches Lesebuch für amerikanische Schulen. Von A. J. Koch. J. A. Reber, Baltic, Ohio. 90 pp.

Weihnachts und Neujahrs Gedichte. Zum ersten mal herausgegeben von Prediger Lorenz R. Tschetter. Riverside Colony, Macleod, Alberta, Canada. 1949. 19 pp.

Wartburg Fibel, von August Engelbrecht. Wartburg Publishing House, Chicago. n. d. 96 pp.

Ein Spruch für die Täuflinge der Hutterischen. Lorenz R. Tschetter. Riverside Colony, Macleod, Alberta. 1949. 8 pp.

APPENDIX D: 14

TABLE RULES*

Beim Tisch-Gebet sei ernst Und falte deine Hände Doch auch mit Andacht stets Das Herz zu Gott hin wende.	Pray at the table with sincerity and fold your hands. Always turn with devotion Your heart to God.
Ist das Gebet vorbei So wunsche Gottes Segen Zur Mahlzeit rechts und links Wer bei dem Tisch zugegen	When the prayer is over ask God's blessing on those to the right and left of you at the table.
Bei leibe setze dich Nicht gleich vor andern nieder Denn dies ein zeichen ist Der unverschämten Brüder	By all means do not sit down before the others do, because ill-mannered people do that.
Wirf deinen Stuhl nicht um Eh du ihn fest gefasset Und dreh die Schüssel nicht Wie du sie gerne hättest	Don't kick your chair out without having a hold of it. Help yourself from the serving dish without turning it around.
Am ersten must du auch Nicht in die Schüssel langen Nein, warte mit Geduld Bis Ältere angefangen	Don't be the first to reach for the food. Instead wait patiently until older people help themselves.
Greif nicht gleich allemal Nur nach den besten Bissen Sonst wird man schnell bei dir Bescheidenheit vermissen.	Don't just grab all the time the best bites, for one will soon think that you are immodest.
Ist eine Speise dir Nach Gunst dir nicht gericht So sprich nicht allemal Nein davon ess ich nicht	If some of the food is not your favorite, don't always say "No, I don't eat that."
Bestell nicht so genau Was man dich essen heisse Und leg die Nase nicht Aug vorgelegte Speise	Don't insist on knowing exactly what you are eating, and don't smell around the food that is served.
Krach mit den Zähnen nicht Sonst gibts von wilden Tieren Die in der Nähe sind Gleich was zu disputieren	Don't grit your teeth or the wild beasts nearby will have something to talk about.
Den Bissen tunke nicht Ins Salzfass Selbst hinein Und lange eben falls Nicht mit den Fingern drein	Don't dip a morsel of food into the salt dish nor reach into it with your fingers.

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*Tr. by Ilse Reist. Gesang-Büchlein (1961), p. 86.

Leg dich nicht auf den Tisch Bis auf den Ellenbogen Sonst hält dich jedermann Ihr ziemlich ungezogen	Don't rest your elbows on the table; People will think you are quite unmannerly.
Sitz mit den Füssen still Und mit den Leib gerade Damit dein Strangeln nicht Denn Krüg und Tellern schade	Sit still, don't fidget with your hands, keep straight so that you don't upset plates and pitchers.
Gib auf die Gläser acht Zumallen wenn sie voll Ergreift sie mit Bedacht Denn Schütteln tut nicht wohl	Watch the glasses, especially the full ones; reach for them with care. It is not good to play with them.
Willst du den Gästen nicht Verdrusz bei Tisch erwecken, So nimm dich auch in acht Vor allem Tellerlecken	If you don't want to annoy the other guests at the table, then be careful not to lick your plate.
Wenn du dich schneizen willst So muszt du nicht posaunen Dass andre von dem Ton Erschrecken und erstaunen	If you have to blow your nose, don't act as though it were a trumpet, that would startle and surprise others.
Wend dich von andern weg Die nahe um dich sind Und mache mit dem Tuch Die Nase rein geschwind	Turn away from those sitting close to you, and swiftly clean your nose with your handkerchief.
Dein Gähnen sollst du gleich Die Hand zum Munde bringen Dass nicht dein Nächster meint Du wollest ihn verschlingen	When yawning, at once hold your hand in front of your mouth, so that your neighbor doesn't think you want to devour him.
Kommt dich zu niesen an So tu es mit Manier Und halte alsobald Dein Taschentüchlein für	If you get the urge to sneeze, do it gracefully and hold your handkerchief in front of you.
Ist denn die Mahlzeit aus So mache dich bereit Zu dem Gebet und Dank Mit aller Freundlichkeit	When the meal is over prepare yourself with gladness for prayer and thanksgiving.
Gott hat uns auch dazu Berufen zu sein' Kind Dass wir im Glauben nur Ganz unverdrossen sind.	As His children God has called us to be persistent in our faith.
Amen.	Amen.

APPENDIX D: 15

BAPTISMAL VOW

(Translation)

Questions asked of the applicants before the prayer

1. Do you now acknowledge the doctrines, which have hitherto been inculcated into you, as being the truth and right foundation to salvation?

2. Do you also believe in and agree with the twelve articles of our Christian faith which comprise: "We believe in God the Almighty..." (Each repeats the Apostle's Creed)

3. Do you also desire the prayer of intercession of the pious that God may forgive and remit the sins committed by you in ignorance?

4. Do you desire to consecrate, give and sacrifice yourself to the Lord God in the covenant of Christian baptism?

Here follows the prayer.
(After this prayer, while kneeling, follow these six questions:)

1. Do you now sufficiently understand the word of God and acknowledge it as the only path to life eternal?

2. Do you also truly and heartily repent of the sins which you have in ignorance committed against God and do you desire henceforth to fear God, nevermore to sin against God, and rather to suffer death than ever again to sin willfully against God?

3. Do you also believe that your sins have been forgiven and remitted through Christ and the prayer of intercession of His people?

4. Is it also your desire to accept brotherly punishment and admonition and also to apply the same to others when it is needful?

5. Do you desire thus to consecrate, give and sacrifice yourself with soul and body and all your possessions to the Lord in heaven, and to be obedient unto Christ and his church?

6. Do you desire thus to establish a covenant with God and all his people and to be baptized upon your confessed belief?

Note: All of these questions must be answered with a "yes".

(The minister, laying on his hands and sprinkling with water, speaks the following words:)

"On thy confessed belief I baptize thee, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. God Almighty in heaven who has given you grace and mercy through the death of Christ and the prayer of His Saints, may clothe you with fortitude from on high and inscribe your name into the book of eternal life, to preserve thee in piety and faith until death. This is my wish to thee through Jesus Christ." Amen.

APPENDIX D: 16

MARRIAGE VOW*

(The marriage vows are in two parts: the Zusammenstellen (engagement) which is held a few days before the Zusammengeben (marriage).) Both services are held in the church assembly.

The Engagement Vow

Introduction:

As the brethren have talked to you individually they have understood that before God each one of you will accept the other as a gift of God in good faith. Neither a resolution nor your final approval have yet been heard.

Question to the brother:

1. Thus I ask you my brother first, do you desire to accept this sister without complaints and with good will. Say yes, so that she hears this. Answer: Yes.

2. Do you desire to go before her in such a way that she finds in you a mirror and an example of honesty and will be led to the Lord through you, so that you may live together as Christians, one being of benefit to the other. Answer: Yes.

3. Marriage has its share of grief and not every day is filled with happiness, but brings suffering too, as the women are the weaker ones. Thus I ask you, do you desire to have her for good, in health and in sickness, in love and in sorrow, never to leave her, until the Lord seperates you through death. If this is not difficult for you, you may affirm it.

Question to the sister:

My sister, you have heard the good intentions of the brother, which will be of comfort to you.

1. Thus I ask you, will you also accept him with good will and without complaints? Answer: Yes.

2. Since God has ordained that the husband is and should be the head of the wife, I ask you: Do you wish to obey him in all right and godly things as it is the duty of a wife, so that you can serve each other in godliness? Answer: Yes.

3. Whether the husband can always enjoy better health than the wife is in God's hands. Will you therefore serve him also in health and sickness, in happiness and in sorrow, and never leave him? If this is not difficult for you, you may answer with yes.

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*Michael Tschetter, 1913. Dariushof, colony document. Tr. by Else Reist, from Trauungs Verhandlung Für zusammenstellen, u Zusammengeben.

Summary:

Because of your declaration of intentions we want to publicly state before the congregation that with the counsel of your parents you want to come together. You also ask the Lord that His will be done to the glory of His name. For this the congregation will gather once more. Now you may be seated, or you can leave. Amen.

The marriage vow

Questions to the brother:

1. I ask you brother, first, whether you still wish to accept this sister that was introduced, in good faith as a gift of the Lord? Answer: Yes.

2. Are you willing to be a good example for her in honesty and godliness, so that she may be brought closer to the Lord through you? Answer: Yes.

3. Are you willing, brother, to take the introduced sister for good in love and sorrow, in health and sickness, never to leave her until death will part you? Answer: Yes.

4. I ask you, brother, if it should happen that one or the other from the congregation should suffer shipwreck of his faith (which we would not hope for you and which God forbid) will you then be satisfied with yourself and not desire that your wife follow you from the right to the wrong and leave behind the community and the church? And would you on behalf of your woman not cause us any trouble with the authorities; If so, you may answer with yes.

Questions to the sister:

1. My sister, you have heard this brother in his good intentions, which will be of comfort to you. Therefore I ask you, too, do you desire to accept him in good will without complaints? Answer: Yes.

2. Because it is ordained by God that the husband is the head of the wife, I ask you, do you desire to be obedient in all good things, as a good wife ought to be, so that one can help the other toward godliness? Answer: Yes.

3. Whether the husband can always enjoy better health than the wife is in God's hands. Will you therefore serve him also in health and in sickness, in happiness and in sorrow, never leave him, until death will part you? Answer: Yes.

To both:

In closing, I ask you once more, brother and sister, before his church, which is a witness of this honest assembly: Will you in all that pertains to your marriage bond be faithful to each other and to your faith and never leave one another, until death will separate you? For what God has joined together, let no man put asunder. If so, both parties may answer with yes and join hands.

Whereupon the blessing is given

We herewith bear witness that you marry each other as godfearing partners according to the order of God and the example of the forefathers and with the knowledge and counsel of the elders of the whole congregation. May the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob bless and keep you, may He lead you Himself together and bless you. May all godfearing husbands and wives live together peacefully and serve God all their lives. This we wish you once again from God through Jesus Christ, Amen..

ORDINATION VOW*

"Dear Brethren, while it has pleased God, our beloved trusting heavenly Father, to take away His servent, our beloved brother, Joseph Müller, to eternal, blessed rest, no one could help but fill his office again. We turned with heartfelt requests and supplications in our prayers to God, the Lord, that He might again supply us with a trustworthy, pious man. Now God has received our prayers and has given us one of our brothers, which pleased Him in this duty. This man has been received with great thanks and presented to the congregation according to the Christian Biblical customs of our forefathers and has been tried in this office for some time.

"After he had served for a while, he proved himself so that we and all the elders were well satisfied with him. We know of no obstacle but think that if he also received the support of the congregation, he might be ordered into the service of the Word. For this reason, we will listen to his voice and determine the attitude of the congregation to see whether it also is satisfied with him.

"Firstly, I am asking you, my brother, where do you stand? Do you desire to show your obedience to be given inside and outside the country, wherever needed, in good or evil times as God the Almighty does sent it?

"Secondly, I am asking you, do you desire to exercise punishment and admonition with the right courage and diligence so as to lead this congregation of the Lord that it might further be built and adorned in Him?

"Thirdly, I am asking you, are you acquainted with the twelve articles of our most holy Christian faith, and do you acknowledge the Confession of Faith of our church as right, and do you desire to keep these, as much as possible until your death?

"Fourthly, I am asking you, my brother, do you desire to keep all these points to which you have committed yourself before God and this congregation, to continue with these in good faith until death?

"Now, my brother, while we have all witnessed your answers, agreement and covenant, we want to seal the work of the Lord by appealing to His name for you.

(After the prayer the brother remains in a kneeling position and the elder, standing near the table, asks further questions.)

---

*Colony document. Tr. by Karl Peter.

"I am asking you, my brother, whether you really mean to support those commitments into which you have entered before God and this congregation?

Answer: "Yes".

(After this, the elder, accompanied by three or four other preachers, goes near the kneeling brother and asks the following question:)

"Do you desire to serve God and his congregation faithfully unto death, and do you desire to be a faithful witness of the truth, particularly since we are being condemned to the fire and sword for being witnesses to the word of God?"

Answer: "Yes".

The elder then says: "Amen".

"My brother, since we have given our confidence to you, we lay our hands on your shoulder as evidence, in the name of our Lord Christ and the power of God, that the office and the duty to serve in the word of the Lord will be trusted to you and burdened on you. You shall have the power to serve in this capacity to the redemption and improvement of mankind with us and beside us, to further the work of God with teaching, punishment, exclusion and admittance, according to the content of the Gospel and the word of God.

"We wish that the grace of God may come on you, that God might draw you near to Him, overshadow you and accompany you with His grace and the gift of His holy spirit. This I wish for you from the Almighty God through Jesus Christ. Amen."

APPENDIX D: 18

THE LITURGICAL CALENDAR*

Hutterite preachers read aloud sermons they have copies in German script from older copies after a yearly pattern shown below. In colonies where there are two preachers the one is always an assistant, but they take turns in sermon delivery. Each selects a sermon from his collection on a theme that is seasonal. The colony keeps a record of the date and text of all sermons delivered and who preached them, and the hymns sung. The liturgical calendar begins with the prophecy of the coming of Christ and ends with Ascension and Pentecost (the beginning of the Christian church). (Compare also the Lehrerordnung of Friedmann in Die Schriften... 1965:158).

Text	Use and explanation
Titus 2: 11-15)	These six are used before Christmas but in a different order each year
Psalm 45: 1-10)	
Psalm 72: 1-12)	
Isaiah 26: 1-10)	
Isaiah 60: 1-6)	
John 3: 16-31)	
Luke 2: 1-20)	(December 25)
Isaiah 11: 1-7)	Christmas holiday sermons are selected from these five
Micah 5: 1-3)	
Isaiah 9: 6-7)	
Isaiah 49: 1-4)	
I John 1: 1-10)	These three used on Sundays following Christmas
John 1: 6-14)	
Mark 1: 1-11)	
Luke 2: 21-32	New Year's Day, Day of Circumcision
Matthew 2: 7-12	The Three Wise Kings from the East
Matthew 3: 1-17)	Exchanged each year as needed
Luke 3: 1-18)	
Matthew 2: 13-23)	The flight into Egypt
Luke 2: 26-52)	The twelve-year old Jesus
Matthew 4: 1-10)	The temptation of Christ
Lukas 4: 14-28)	Holy Ghost Power manifest
Matthew 5: 1-12)	Advent sermons
Matthew 5: 13-48)	
Matthew 6: 1-24)	
Matthew 7: 1-12)	
Matthew 7: 13-23)	
Isaiah 58: 1-6)	
Micah 1: 16-23)	

---

*Tr. from colony document: Wie die Lehren zu Halten, jahrlich und Feierlich. Schmiedehof.

Text			Use or explanation
John	3:	1-6	
Matthew	8:	23-27	
Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)	2:	1-11	
I John	5:	5-8	
John	3:	7-15)	
Romans	6:	1-8)	Baptismal sermons
Matthew	28:	16-20)	
Luke	1:	26-28	The Annunciation (March 25)
John	6:	47-48)	
John	13:	1-38)	
Hebrews	13:	8-16)	Pre-Easter sermons
Romans	12:	1-21)	
Isaiah	63:	1-4)	
I Corinthians	5:	6-8)	
Matthew	21:	1-22)	Two Palm Sunday sermons
Mark	11:	1-10)	
Luke	23:	24-45	Good Friday
Isaiah	53:	1-12	
Exodus	12:	1-51	Easter Sunday, forenoon
I Corinthians	10:	1-24	Easter Sunday, afternoon
I Corinthians	11:	23-32	Easter Monday, communion
Matthew	28:	1-15	Easter Tuesday, the resurrection
John	20:	1-18	
Luke	24:	13-53	The walk to Emmaus
Colossians	3:	1-8	
I Corinthians	15:	35-44	
I Peter	4:	1-7	
John	11:	9-35	
Romans	14:	7-13	
Acts	1:	1-11	Ascension Day
John	14:	15-31	
Wisdom	1:	1-11	
Acts	2:	1-47	Pentecost sermon in five parts
Wisdom	7:	22-23	
Galatians	5:	19-21	
Galatians	5:	22-24	
Psalms	133:		
I John	2:	18-29	

APPENDIX D: 19

HOLIDAYS

Slight variations in holidays are noted among the sample colonies. (Comments on the holiday as given by the preacher are indicated by the letters D, L, and S of the respective Leut).

January 1. Beschneidung's Tag (Day of Circumcision), comes eight days after the birth of Christ, hence the day of circumcision which "denotes purity" (D). On this day the child was given the name Jesus. A morning and evening service is observed. "The day is also honored as a thanksgiving day for God's goodness during the past year with supplication for the New Year" (S).

January 6. Heiligen Drei Königen (The three wise men), the bringing of gifts to the Christ child. "As the three wise kings were guided by the light and found Christ, so let us also be brought to the light of the Word of God" (S).

March 25. Maria Verkündigung (The Annunciation), is observed nine months before Christmas in Schmiedehof. The day is observed as is Sunday. "It is celebrated as a proclaimation of the great works of salvation finally brought to mankind. Other lessons are drawn including that of the purity of Mary" (S). No special day is observed for the annunciation in Lehrerhof or Dariushof except for a sermon on the subject one or two weeks before Christmas.

Palm Sontag (Palm Sunday). If there are baptismal applicants they are baptized in the morning service (S). The sermon stresses "humbling before the Lord. We accept Him also as the King of the New Jerusalem" (S).

Kohr Freitag (Good Friday). "Green Donnerstag", on the night of the betrayal, requires a long sermon on Thursday evening. Good Friday is observed with a morning and evening service dealing exclusively with the suffering and crucifixion of Christ. Saturday is a "normal" day with work resumed.

Ostar (Easter) requires three holidays: Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday.

Sunday is observed with two long sermons, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, with no evening service. "We especially stress community and communion, mostly the purpose of communion" (S).
Monday is the day of Abendmal (communion) and is never observed on any other day of the year. The service is from nine o'clock until twelve, with also an evening service.
Tuesday is Auferstehungs Tag (Resurrection Day). A morning and evening service is held. "We preach the resurrection texts" (D). "It's not the day Christ arose from the grave, but we observe it on this day" (S).

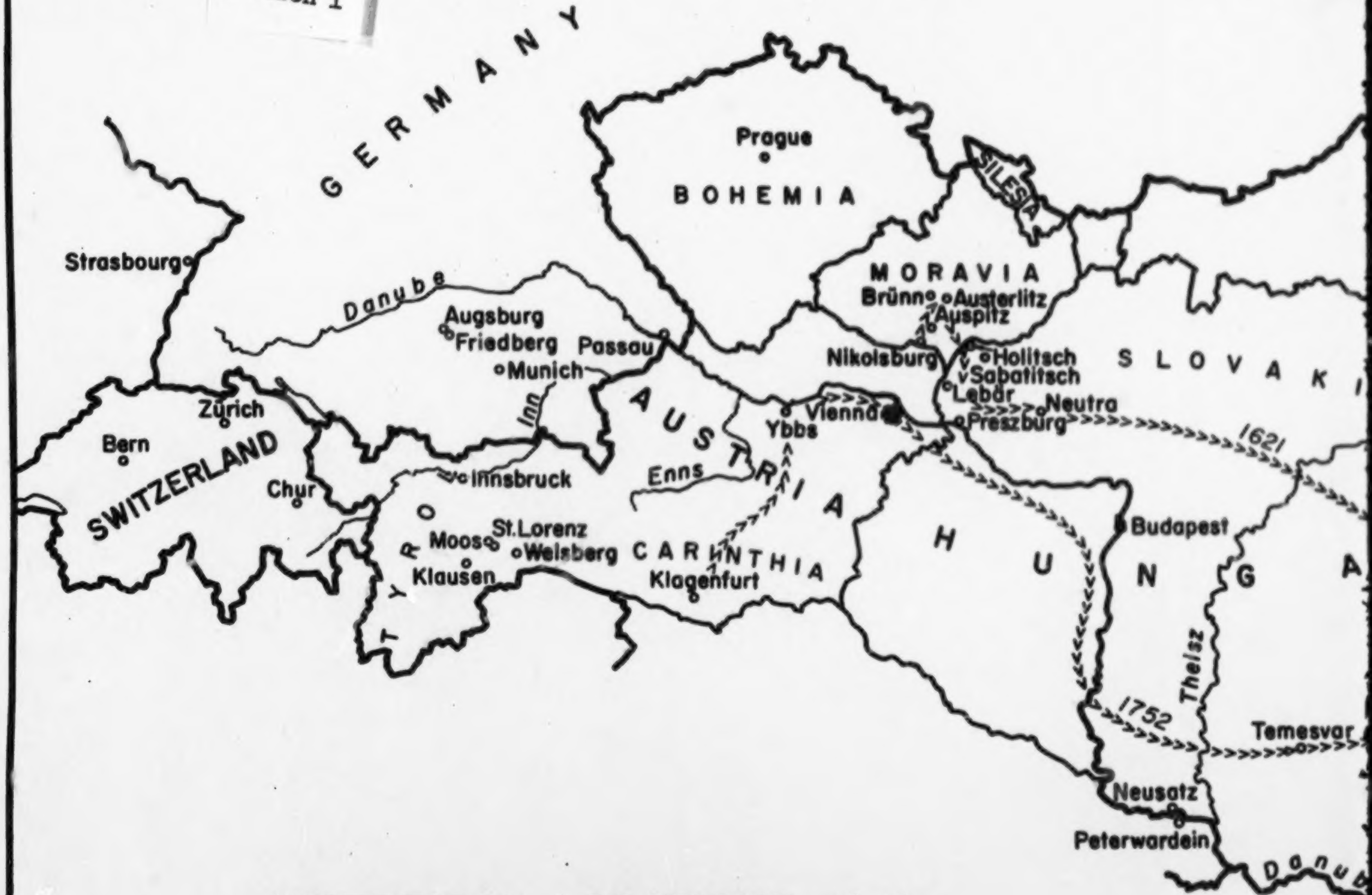
Christi Himmelfahrt (Ascension Day) is observed forty days after Easter.

Pfingsten (Pentecost) requires three holidays: Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, beginning with the ninth day after Ascension day. "For us this is an important day, for the church was formed at this time" (D). "We explain the pouring out of the Spirit, plus the development of the communal system. All but the very necessary work stops for these days" (S).

Danksagung (Thanksgiving), also Hapchincka (a Russian word meaning celebrating the bountiful harvest). The day is observed when convenient, after the harvest is over. "Celebrated with a nice dinner and like a Sunday" (S).

December 25. Weinachten (Christmas) requires three holidays, the 25th, 26th, and 27th. "These days represent the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" (S). A morning sermon and an evening service is held on each of the three days. Should the 24th fall on a Sunday, there are four consecutive holidays.

Section 1


GERMANY
Strasbourg
Danube
Augsburg
Friedberg
Passau
Munich
Inn
Zürich
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Chur
Innsbruck
TYRO
Moos
St.Lorenz
Weisberg
Klausen
CARINTHIA
Klagenfurt
Enns
AUSTRIA
Ybbs
Vienna
Prague
BOHEMIA
SILESIA
MORAVIA
Brünn
Austerlitz
Auspitz
Nikolsburg
Hollitsch
Sabatitsch
Lebar
Neutra
Preszburg
SLOVAKI
1621
Budapest
HUNGA
Theisz
1752
Temesvar
Neusatz
Peterwardein
Danub

HISTORICAL LOCATIONS of the HUTTERIAN MOVEMENT in EUROPE

1755 >>>>>>>>>>>>>> Direction and time of migration.
Scales :
0 60 120 180 240 300 km
0 40 80 120 160 200 240 280 verst
0 50 100 150 200

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Section 2

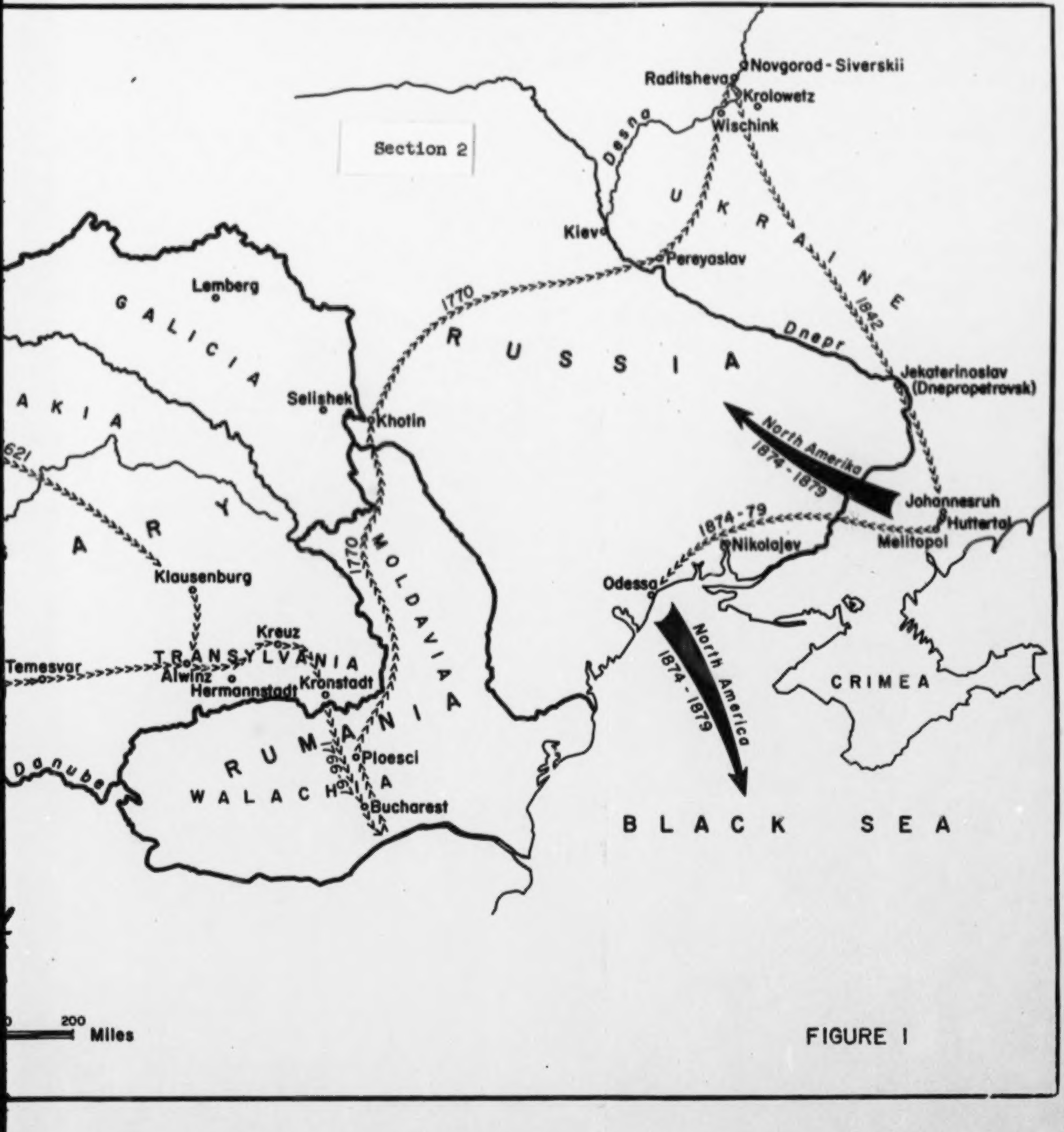
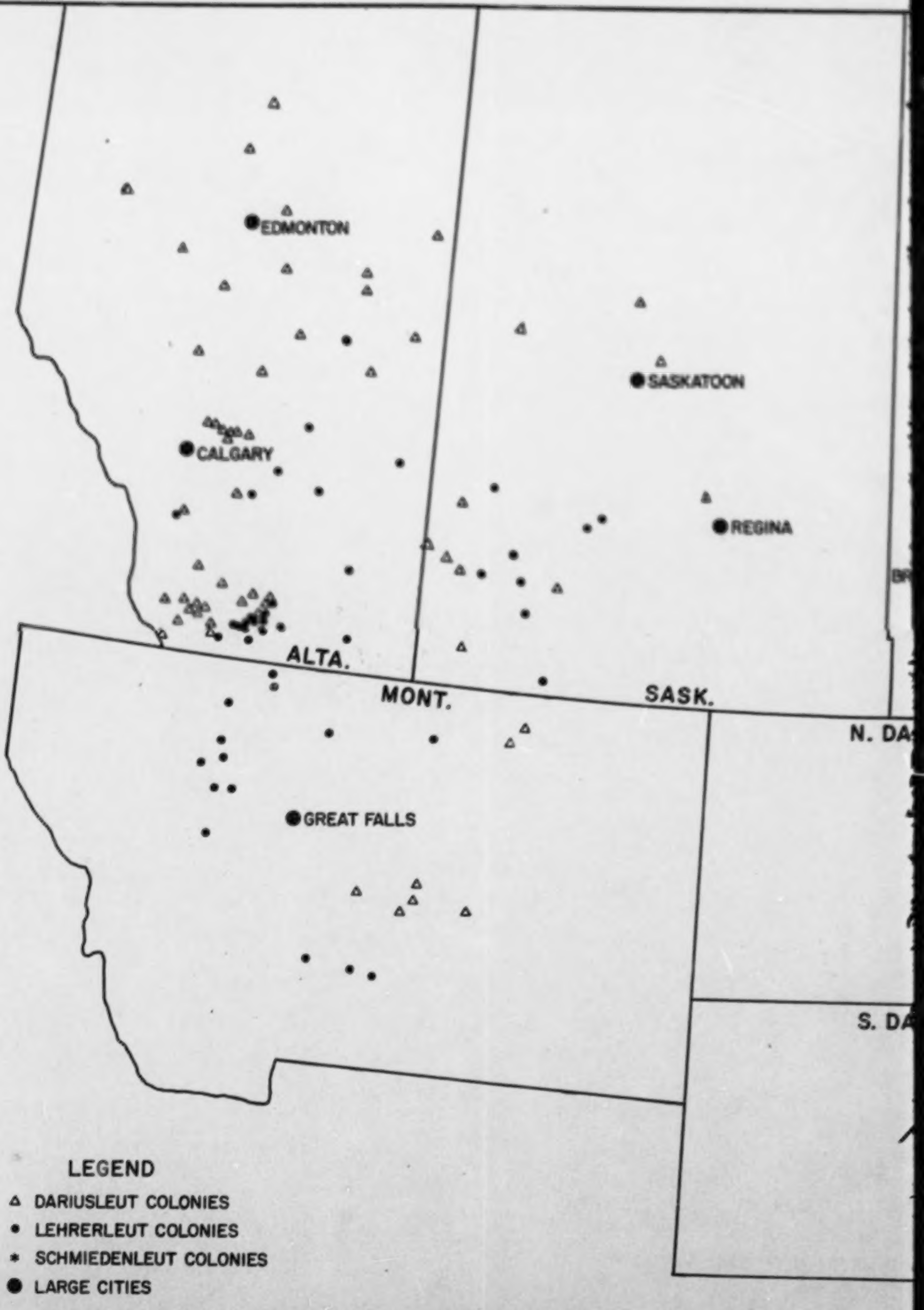

Novgorod - Siverskii
Raditsheva
Krolowetz
Desna
Wischink
U K R A I N E
Kiev
Pereyaslav
1842
Lemberg
G A L I C I A
1770
R U S S I A
Dnepr
Jekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk)
Selishek
Khotin
A K I A
621
North Amerika 1874 - 1879
Johannesruh
Huttertal
Melitopol
1874 - 79
Nikolajev
A R Y
Klausenburg
1770
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
North America 1874 - 1879
Kreuz
Temesvar
TRANSYLVANIA
Alwinz
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
CRIMEA
R U M A N I A
1766-67
Ploesci
Danube
W A L A C H I A
Bucharest
B L A C K S E A
0 200 Miles

FIGURE I

Section 1


EDMONTON
SASKATOON
CALGARY
REGINA
ALTA.
MONT.
SASK.
N. DA
S. DA
GREAT FALLS
LEGEND
△ DARIUSLEUT COLONIES
• LEHRERLEUT COLONIES
* SCHMIEDENLEUT COLONIES
● LARGE CITIES

LOCATION OF HUTTERIAN BRUDERHOFS

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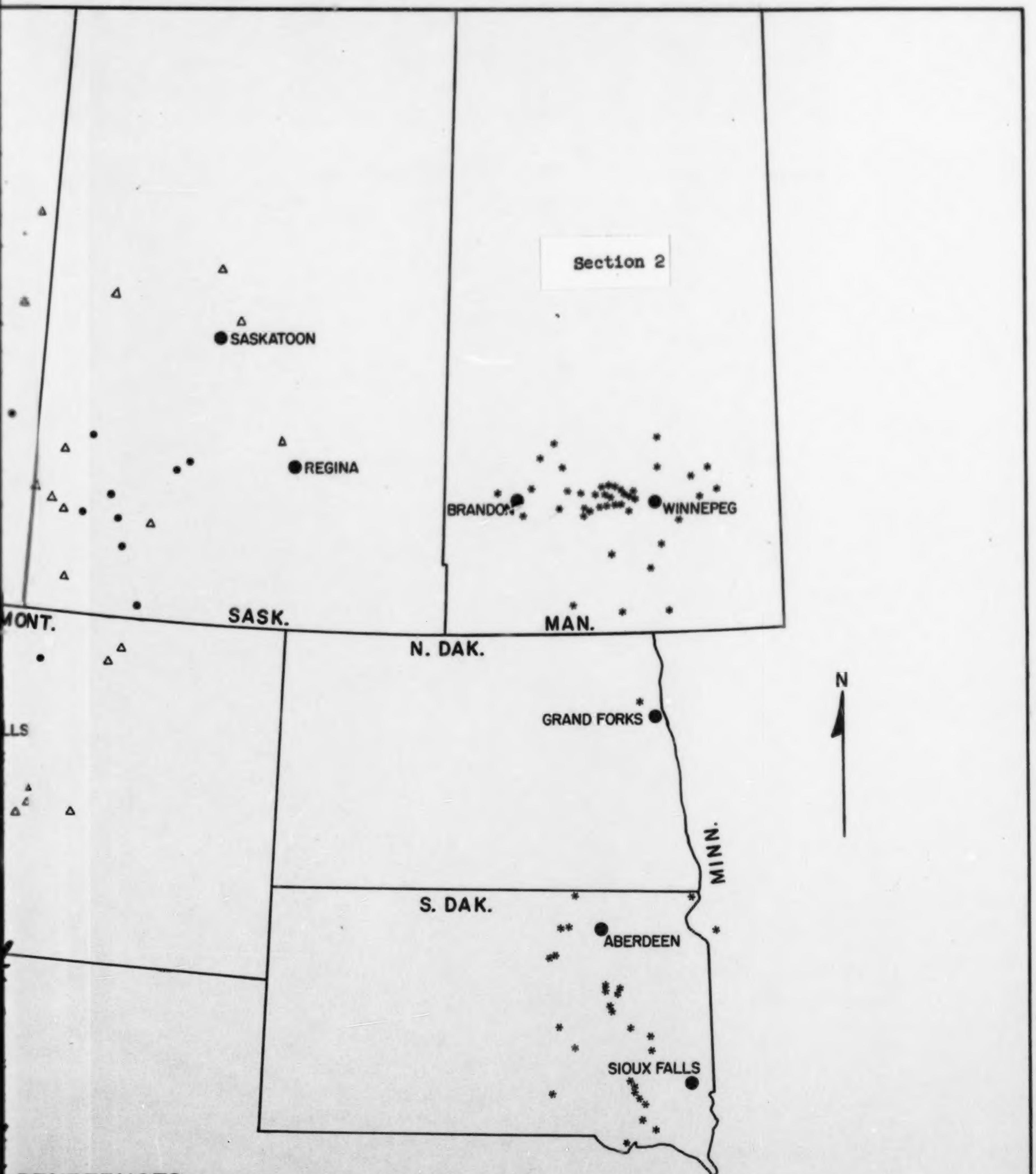
Section 2
SASKATOON
REGINA
BRANDON
WINNEPEG
MONT.
SASK.
MAN.
N. DAK.
GRAND FORKS
N
MINN.
S. DAK.
ABERDEEN
SIOUX FALLS
LLS

BRUDERHOFS

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

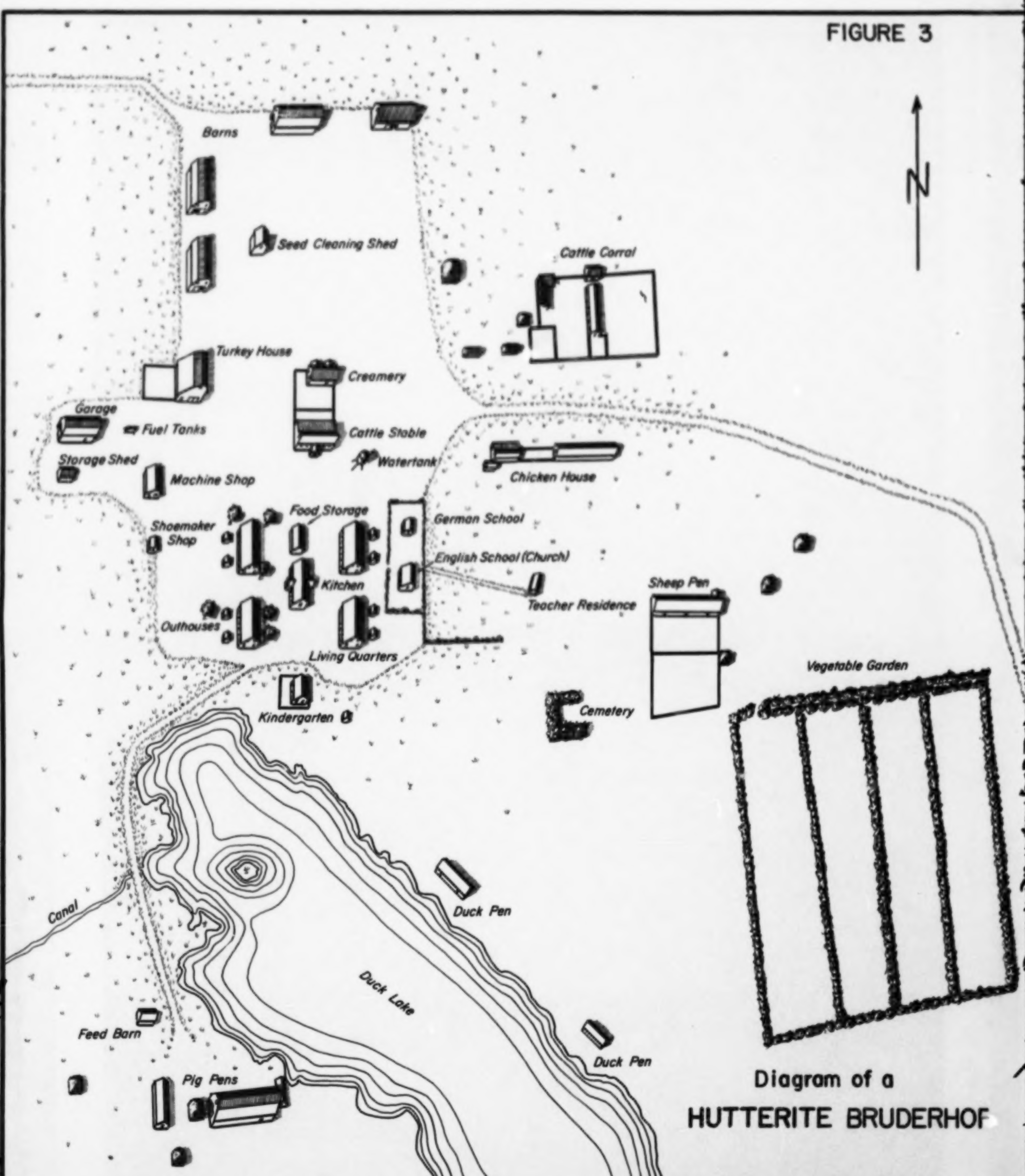
N
Barns
Seed Cleaning Shed
Cattle Corral
Turkey House
Creamery
Garage
Fuel Tanks
Cattle Stable
Storage Shed
Machine Shop
Watertank
Chicken House
Food Storage
German School
Shoemaker Shop
English School (Church)
Kitchen
Sheep Pen
Teacher Residence
Outhouses
Living Quarters
Vegetable Garden
Kindergarten
Cemetery
Canal
Duck Pen
Duck Lake
Feed Barn
Duck Pen
Pig Pens
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
Feet

Diagram of a
HUTTERITE BRUDERHOF

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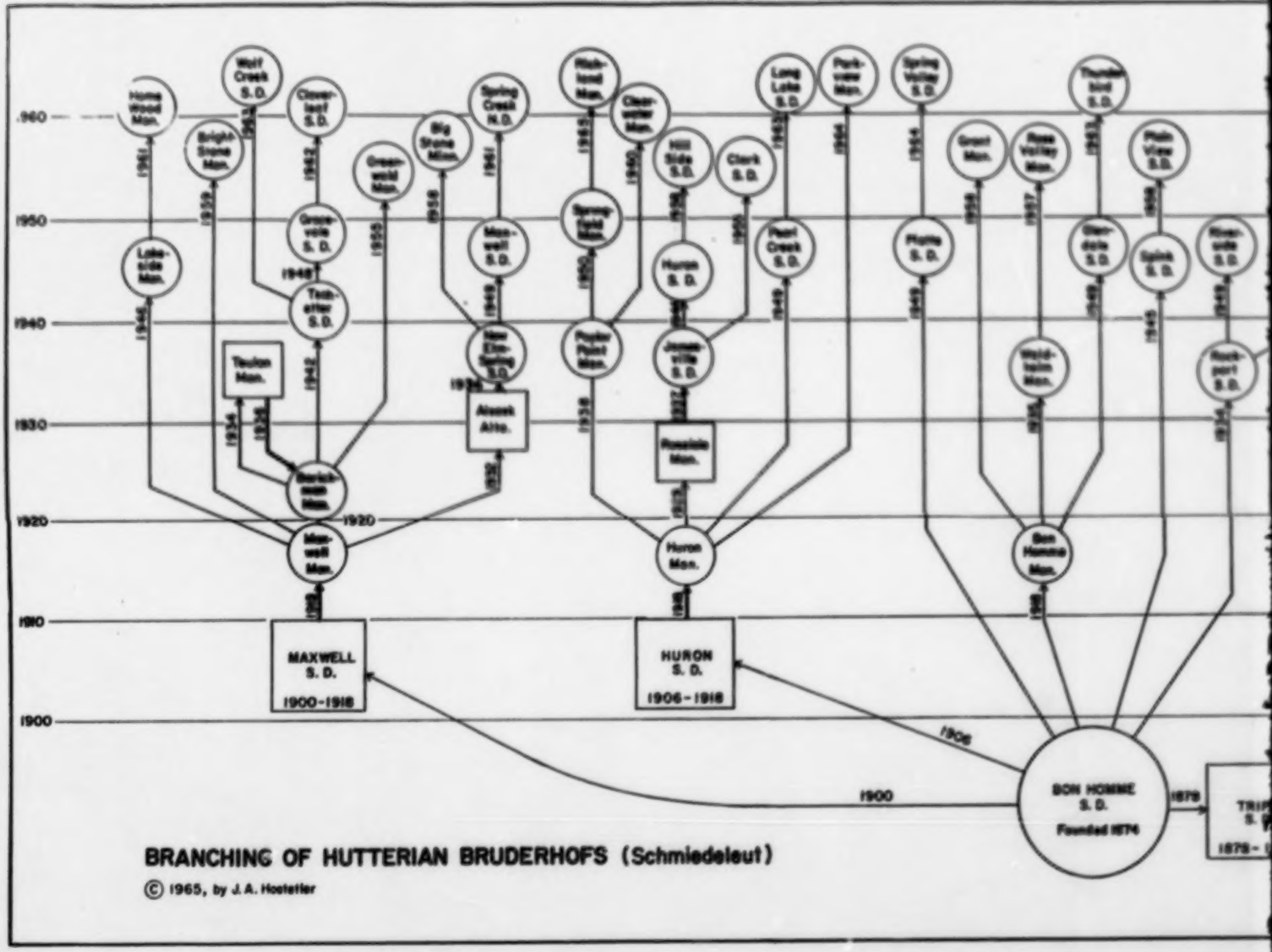
Section 1


1960
1950
1940
1930
1920
1910
1900
Home Wood Man.
Wolf Creek S.D.
Bright Stone Man.
Clover-leaf S.D.
Green-wald Man.
Big Stone Man.
Spring Creek N.D.
Rich-land Man.
Clear-water Man.
Hill Side S.D.
Clark S.D.
Long Lake S.D.
Park-view Man.
Spring Valley S.D.
Grant Man.
Rose Valley Man.
Thunder-bird S.D.
Lake-side Man.
Grace-vale S.D.
Tsch-etter S.D.
Teulon Man.
Barick-man Man.
Max-well Man.
Max-well S.D.
New Elm Spring S.D.
Alsask Alta.
Spring-field Man.
Poplar Point Man.
Huron S.D.
James-ville S.D.
Rosedale Man.
Huron Man.
Pearl Creek S.D.
Platte S.D.
Glen-dale S.D.
Spink S.D.
River-side S.D.
Wald-heim Man.
Rock-port S.D.
Bon Homme Man.
MAXWELL S.D. 1900-1918
HURON S.D. 1906-1918
BON HOMME S.D. Founded 1874
1961
1944
1959
1942
1948
1955
1958
1941
1949
1932
1920
1918
1906
1900
1879

BRANCHING OF HUTTERIAN BRUDERHOFS (Schmiedeleut)

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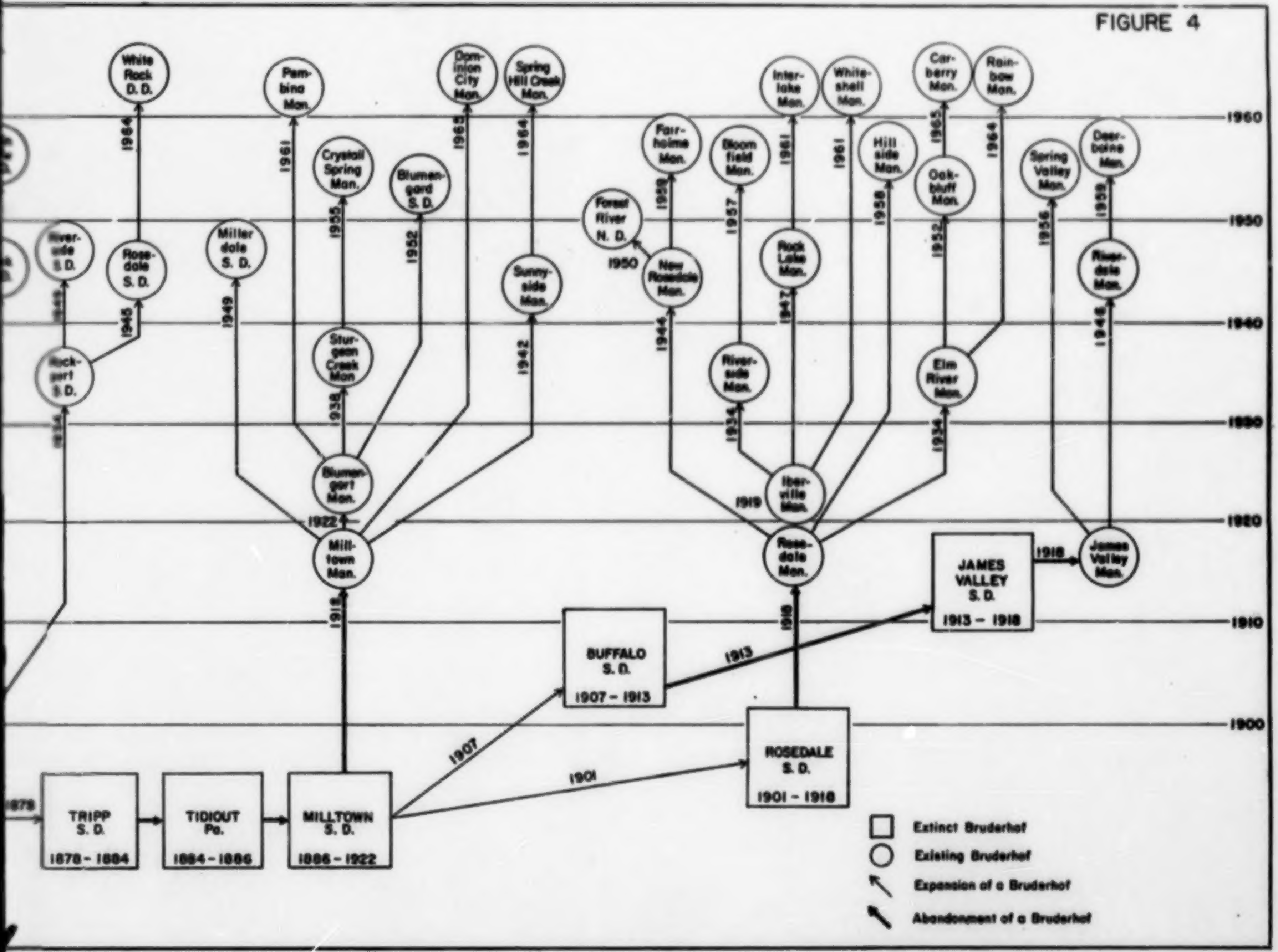
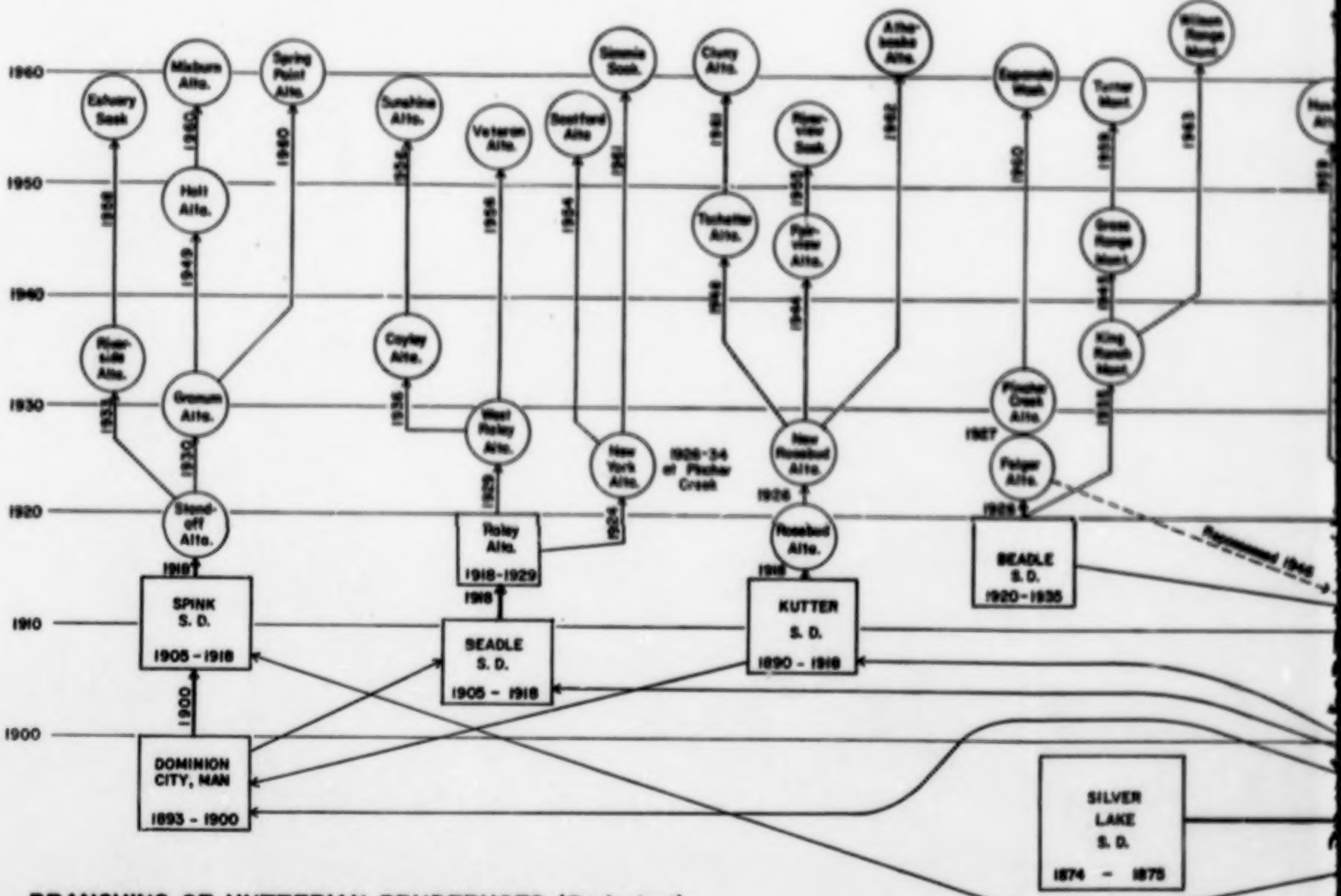
Section 2

FIGURE 4


White Rock D. D.
Pembina Man.
Dominion City Man.
Spring Hill Creek Man.
Inter-lake Man.
White-shell Man.
Carberry Man.
Rainbow Man.
1960
1964
1961
1965
1964
1961
1961
1965
1964
Crystall Spring Man.
Blumengard S. D.
Fairholme Man.
Bloomfield Man.
Hill side Man.
Oakbluff Man.
Spring Valley Man.
Deerbaine Man.
1955
1952
1959
1957
1958
1952
1956
1959
Forest River N. D.
1950
Riverside S. D.
Rosedale S. D.
Millerdale S. D.
Sunnyside Man.
New Rosedale Man.
Rock Lake Man.
Riverdale Man.
1945
1945
1949
1942
1944
1947
1946
1940
Rockport S. D.
Sturgeon Creek Man.
Riverside Man.
Elm River Man.
1934
1938
1934
1934
1930
Blumengart Man.
Iberville Man.
1919
1922
1920
Milltown Man.
Rosedale Man.
James Valley Man.
1918
1918
1918
JAMES VALLEY S. D. 1913 – 1918
1910
BUFFALO S. D. 1907 – 1913
1913
1907
ROSEDALE S. D. 1901 – 1918
1900
1901
1878
TRIPP S. D. 1878 – 1884
TIDIOUT Pa. 1884 – 1886
MILLTOWN S. D. 1886 – 1922
Extinct Bruderhof
Existing Bruderhof
Expansion of a Bruderhof
Abandonment of a Bruderhof

Section 1


1960
1950
1940
1930
1920
1910
1900
Estuary Sask.
Mixburn Alta.
Spring Point Alta.
Holt Alta.
River-side Alta.
Granum Alta.
Stand-off Alta.
Sunshine Alta.
Cayley Alta.
Veteran Alta.
West Raley Alta.
Raley Alta. 1918-1929
Scotford Alta.
Simmie Sask.
New York Alta.
1926-34 at Pincher Creek
Cluny Alta.
Tschetter Alta.
River-view Sask.
Fair-view Alta.
Athabaska Alta.
New Rosebud Alta.
Rosebud Alta.
Espanola Wash.
Pincher Creek Alta.
Felger Alta.
Turner Mont.
Grass Range Mont.
King Ranch Mont.
Wilson Range Mont.
Repossessed 1948
1958
1960
1960
1949
1933
1930
1918
1956
1936
1956
1929
1918
1954
1961
1924
1961
1948
1955
1944
1962
1926
1918
1960
1927
1926
1958
1945
1935
1963
SPINK S. D. 1905-1918
BEADLE S. D. 1905 - 1918
KUTTER S. D. 1890 - 1918
BEADLE S. D. 1920-1935
DOMINION CITY, MAN 1893 - 1900
SILVER LAKE S. D. 1874 - 1875

BRANCHING OF HUTTERIAN BRUDERHOFS (Dariusleut)

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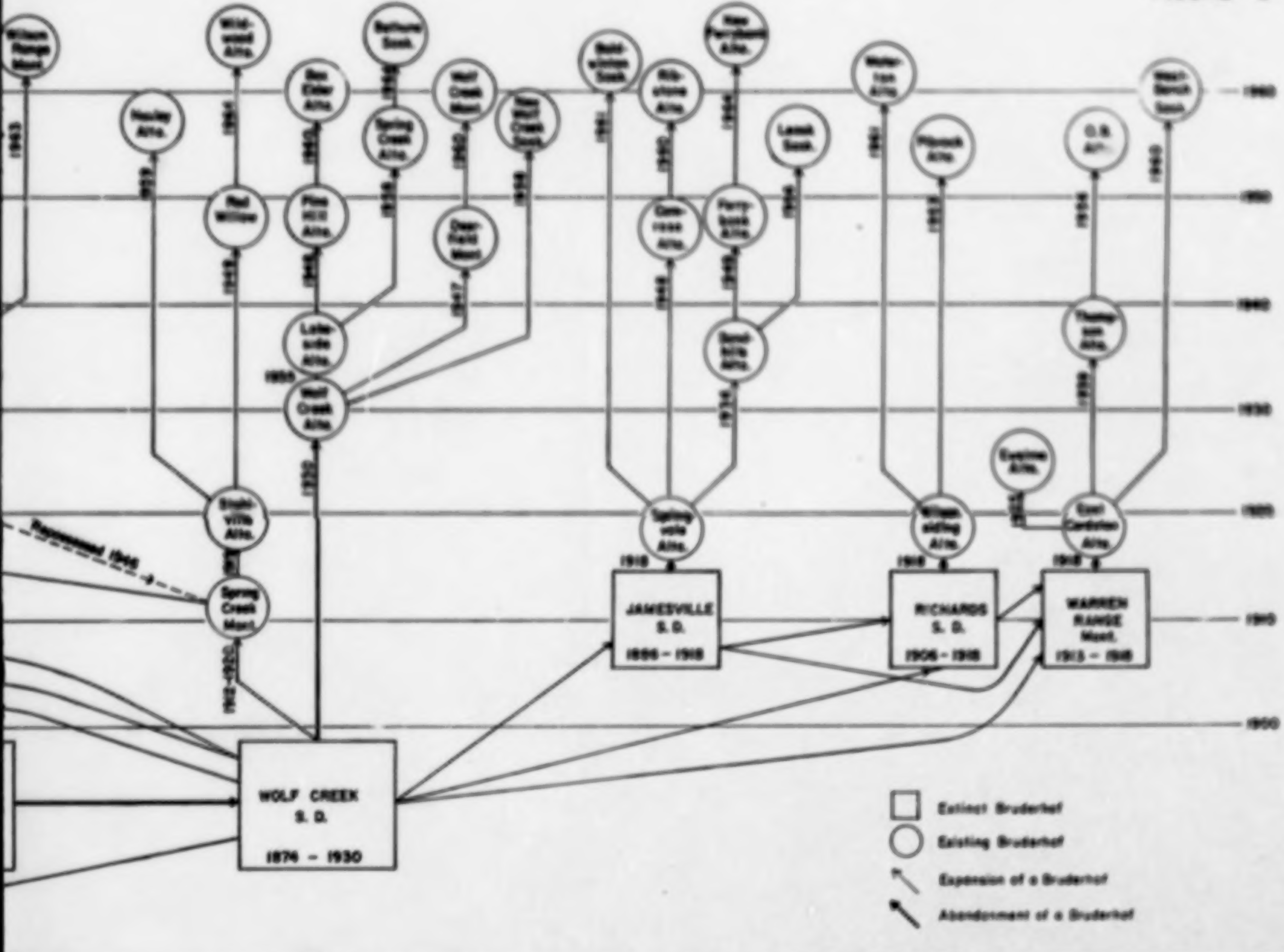
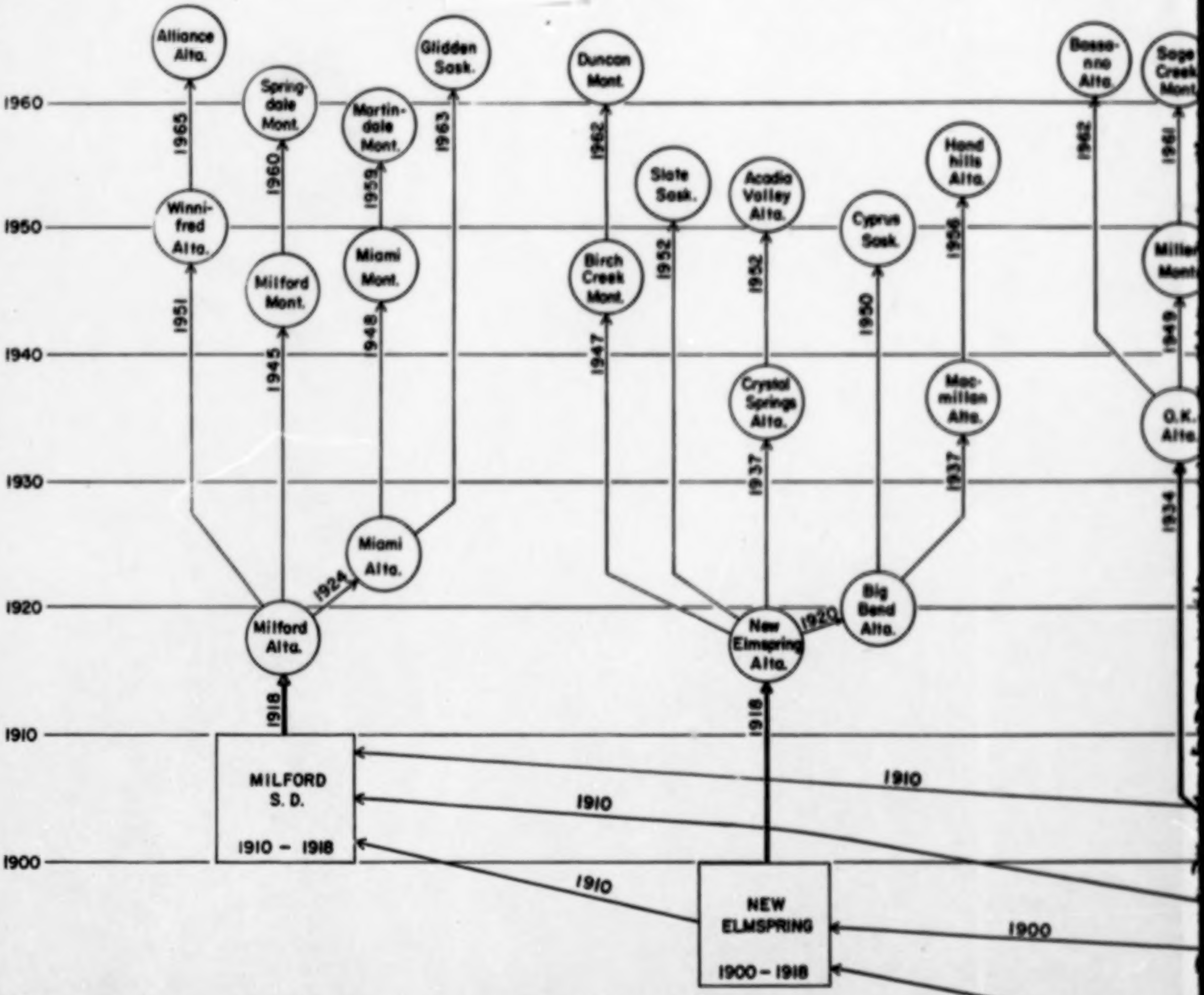
Section 2

FIGURE 5


WOLF CREEK S. D. 1874 - 1930
JAMESVILLE S. D. 1886 - 1918
RICHARDS S. D. 1906 - 1918
WARREN RANGE Mont. 1913 - 1918
Spring Creek Mont.
Stahlville Alta.
Wolf Creek Alta.
Lakeside Alta.
Springvale Alta.
Wilson Siding Alta.
East Cardston Alta.
Thompson Alta.
Ewelme Alta.
Repossessed 1945
1912-1920
1930
1918
1918
1918
1960
1950
1940
1930
1920
1910
1900
Extinct Bruderhof
Existing Bruderhof
Expansion of a Bruderhof
Abandonment of a Bruderhof

Section 1



1960
1950
1940
1930
1920
1910
1900
Alliance Alta.
1965
Winni-fred Alta.
1951
Spring-dale Mont.
1960
Milford Mont.
1945
Martin-dale Mont.
1959
Miami Mont.
1948
Glidden Sask.
1963
Miami Alta.
1924
Milford Alta.
1918
MILFORD S. D. 1910 – 1918
Duncan Mont.
1962
Birch Creek Mont.
1947
Slate Sask.
1952
Acadia Valley Alta.
1952
Crystal Springs Alta.
1937
Cyprus Sask.
1950
Hand hills Alta.
1956
Mac-millan Alta.
1937
Big Bend Alta.
1920
New Elmspring Alta.
1918
NEW ELMSPRING 1900 – 1918
1910
1910
1910
1900
Bosse-nno Alta.
1962
Sage Creek Mont.
1961
Miller Mont.
1949
O.K. Alta.
1934

BRANCHING OF HUTTERIAN BRUDERHOFS (Lehrerleut)

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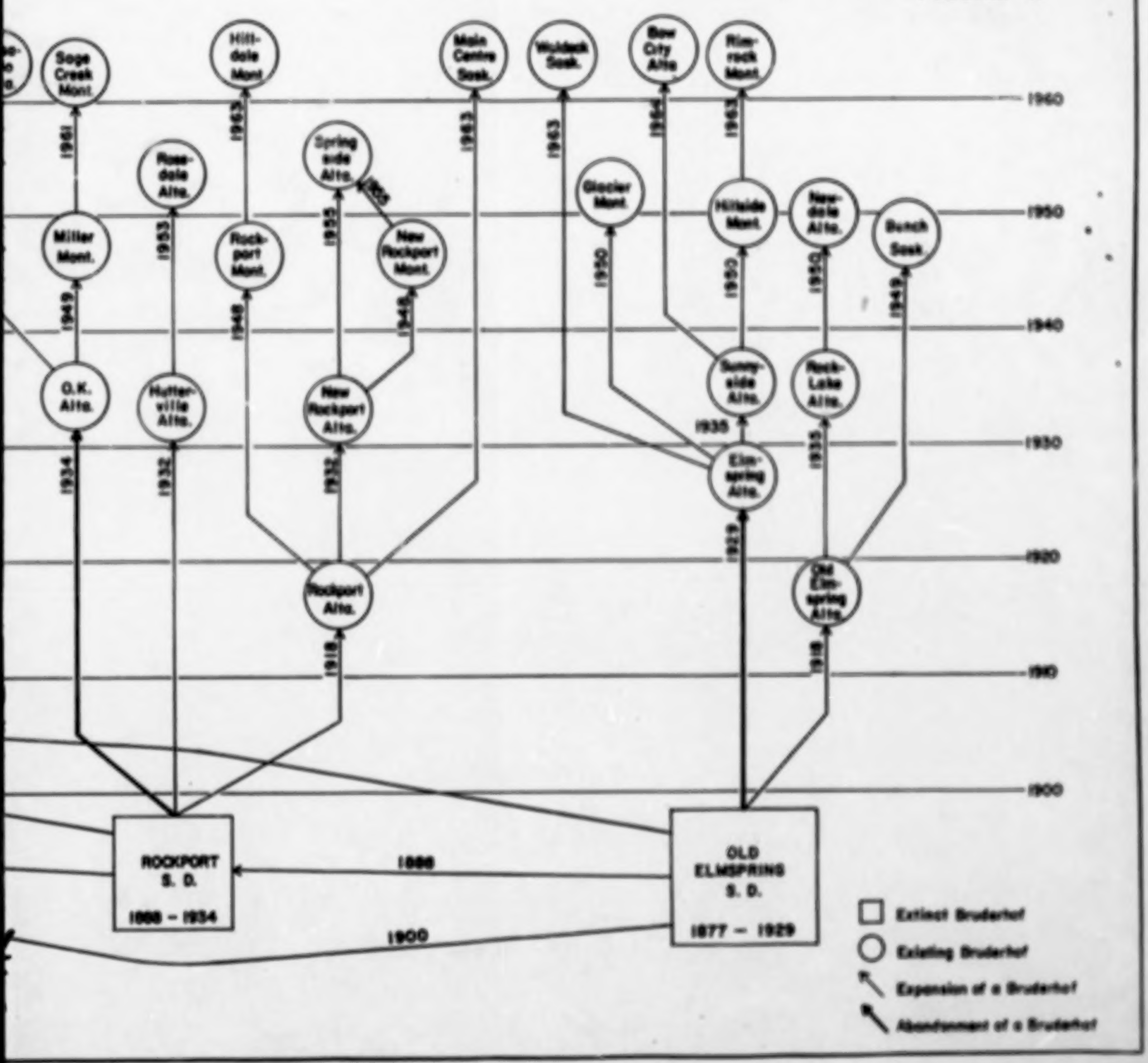
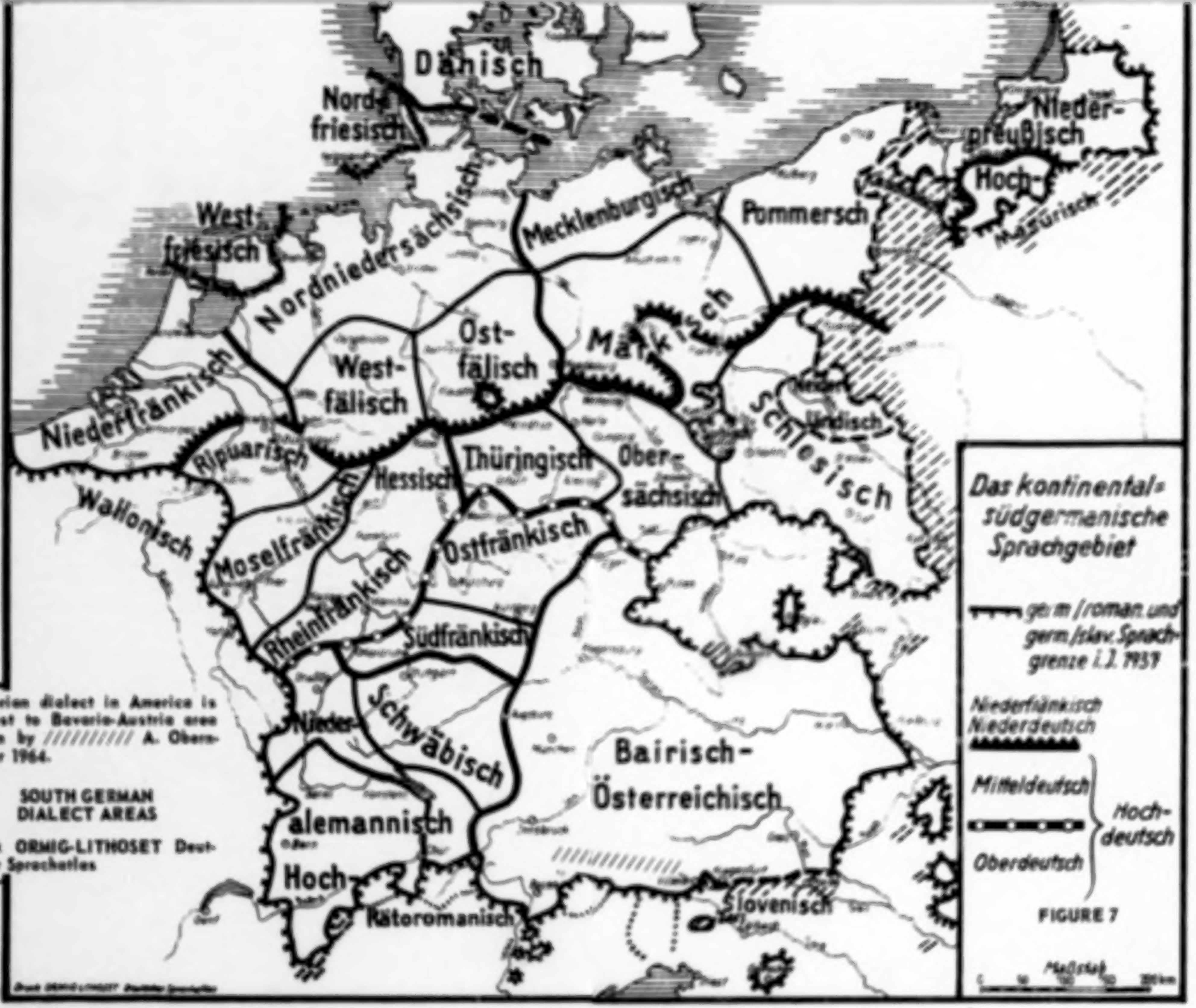
Section 2

FIGURE 6



Sage Creek Mont.
Hill-dale Mont.
Main Centre Sask.
Waldeck Sask.
Bow City Alta.
Rim-rock Mont.
1960
1961
1963
1963
1963
1964
1963
Rose-dale Alta.
Spring side Alta.
1953
Glacier Mont.
Hillside Mont.
New-dale Alta.
Bunch Sask.
1950
Miller Mont.
Rock-port Mont.
New Rockport Mont.
1953
1955
1950
1950
1950
1949
1949
1948
1948
1940
O.K. Alta.
Hutter-ville Alta.
New Rockport Alta.
Sunny-side Alta.
Rock-Lake Alta.
1935
1935
1930
1934
1932
1932
Elm-spring Alta.
1929
1920
Rockport Alta.
Old Elm-spring Alta.
1918
1918
1910
1900
ROCKPORT S. D.
1888 – 1934
1888
OLD ELMSPRING S. D.
1877 – 1929
1900
Extinct Bruderhof
Existing Bruderhof
Expansion of a Bruderhof
Abandonment of a Bruderhof


Dänisch
Nord-friesisch
West-friesisch
Nordniedersächsisch
Mecklenburgisch
Pommersch
Nieder-preußisch
Hoch-
Masurisch
Märkisch
Ost-fälisch
West-fälisch
Niederfränkisch
Ripuarisch
Wallonisch
Moselfränkisch
Hessisch
Thüringisch
Ober-sächsisch
Schlesisch
Ostfränkisch
Rheinfränkisch
Südfränkisch
Schwäbisch
Nieder-
alemannisch
Hoch
Rätoromanisch
Bairisch-Österreichisch
Slovenisch
Das kontinental-südgermanische Sprachgebiet
germ./roman. und germ./slav. Sprachgrenze i. J. 1937
Niederfränkisch
Niederdeutsch
Mitteldeutsch
Oberdeutsch
Hochdeutsch
Maßstab
0
50
100
150
200 km

Hutterian dialect in America is closest to Bavaria-Austria area shown by ////////// A. Obernberger 1964.

SOUTH GERMAN
DIALECT AREAS

Dru.k ORMIG-LITHOSET Deutscher Sprachatlas

FIGURE 7

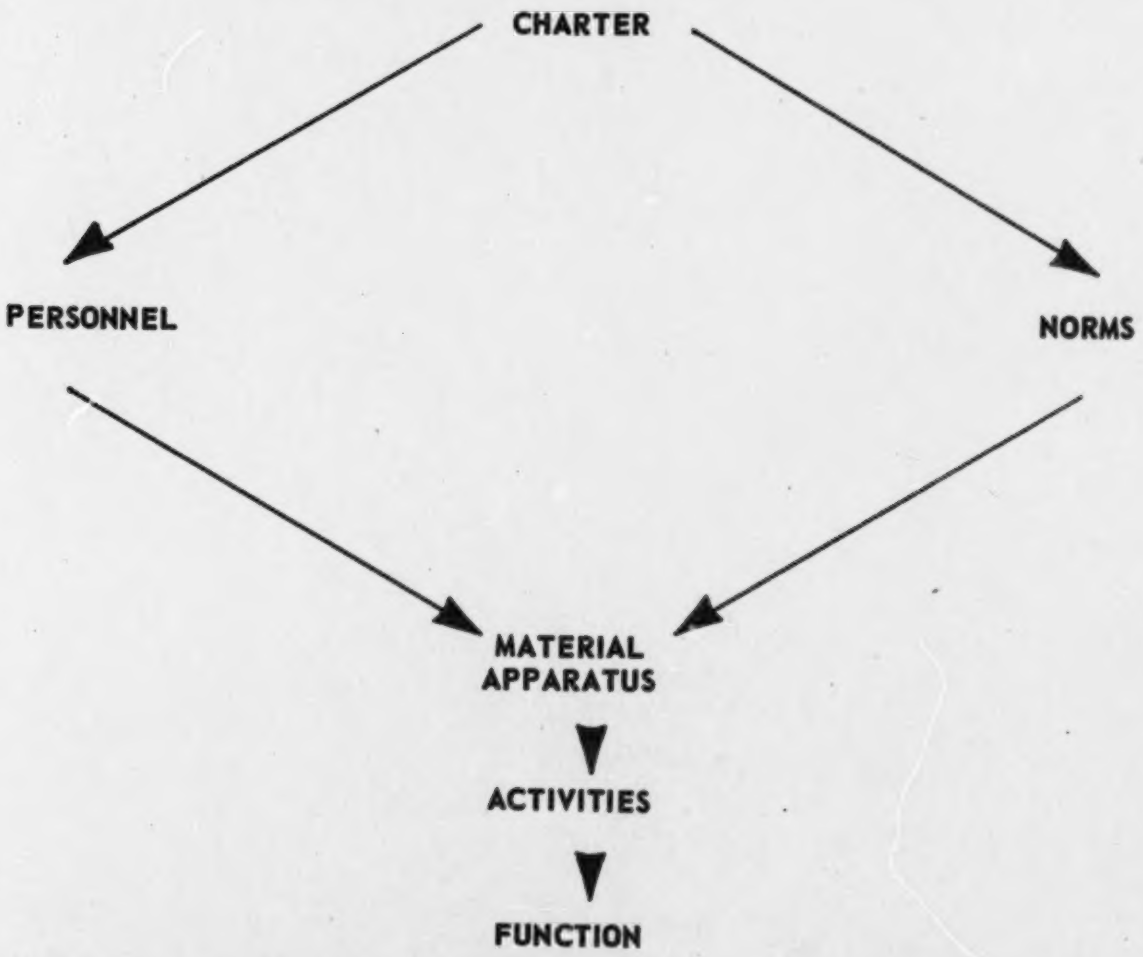


FIGURE 8 – CONCEPTUAL SCHEME OF ORGANIZED BEHAVIOR (MALINOWSKI)

This diagrammatic form shows the relation of charter to other important concrete isolates of organized behavior as defined by B. Malinowski, in A SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF CULTURE (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, 52 ff.) and as used in this report.

Charter:
"the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organizations already existing."

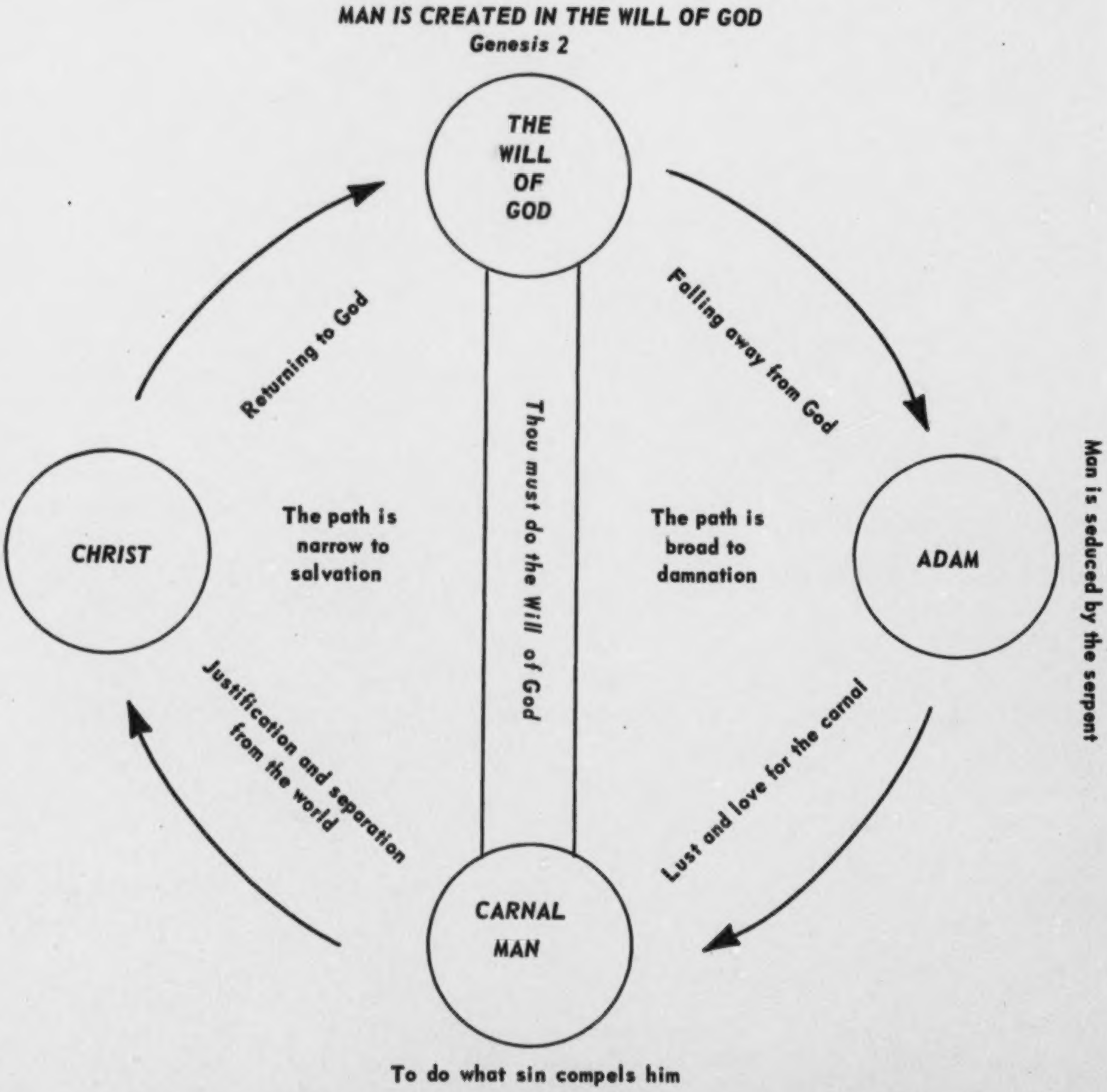
Personnel:
"the group organized on definite principles of authority, division of functions, and distribution of privileges and duties."

Norms:
"the technical acquired skills, habits, legal norms, and ethical commands which are accepted by the members or imposed upon them."

Material apparatus (environment):
"all organization is invariably based upon and intimately associated with the material environmental setting . . . all have a material substratum, that is, a reserved portion of the environmental outfit in wealth, in instruments, and also a portion of the profits accruing from concerted activities."

Activities:
"Organized on the charter, acting through their social and organized cooperation, following the rules of their specific occupation, using the material apparatus at their disposal, the group engages in the activities for which they have organized." "The activities depend on the ability, power, honesty, and good-will of the members."

Function:
"the integral result of organized activities, as distinquished from charter, that is, the purpose, the traditional or new end to be obtained."


MAN IS CREATED IN THE WILL OF GOD
Genesis 2
THE WILL OF GOD
Falling away from God
ADAM
Man is seduced by the serpent
The path is broad to damnation
Lust and love for the carnal
CARNAL MAN
To do what sin compels him
Justification and separation from the world
CHRIST
The path is narrow to salvation
Returning to God
Thou must do the Will of God

God endows us with grace and patience and steadfast faith under the cross [*martyrdom*], *and clothes us with the new man created in His image.*

FIGURE 9 – EPITOME OF ANABAPTIST DOCTRINE

Source: Leonard Schiemer, 1527, in prison, Rattenburg on the Inn, Tyrol (From a manuscript of 1566; Friedmann *Hutterite Studies*, 296)

The sketch illustrates the Anabaptist conception of the main Christian doctrines and for the Hutterian Brethren the unique teachings of separation and the narrow path to salvation.

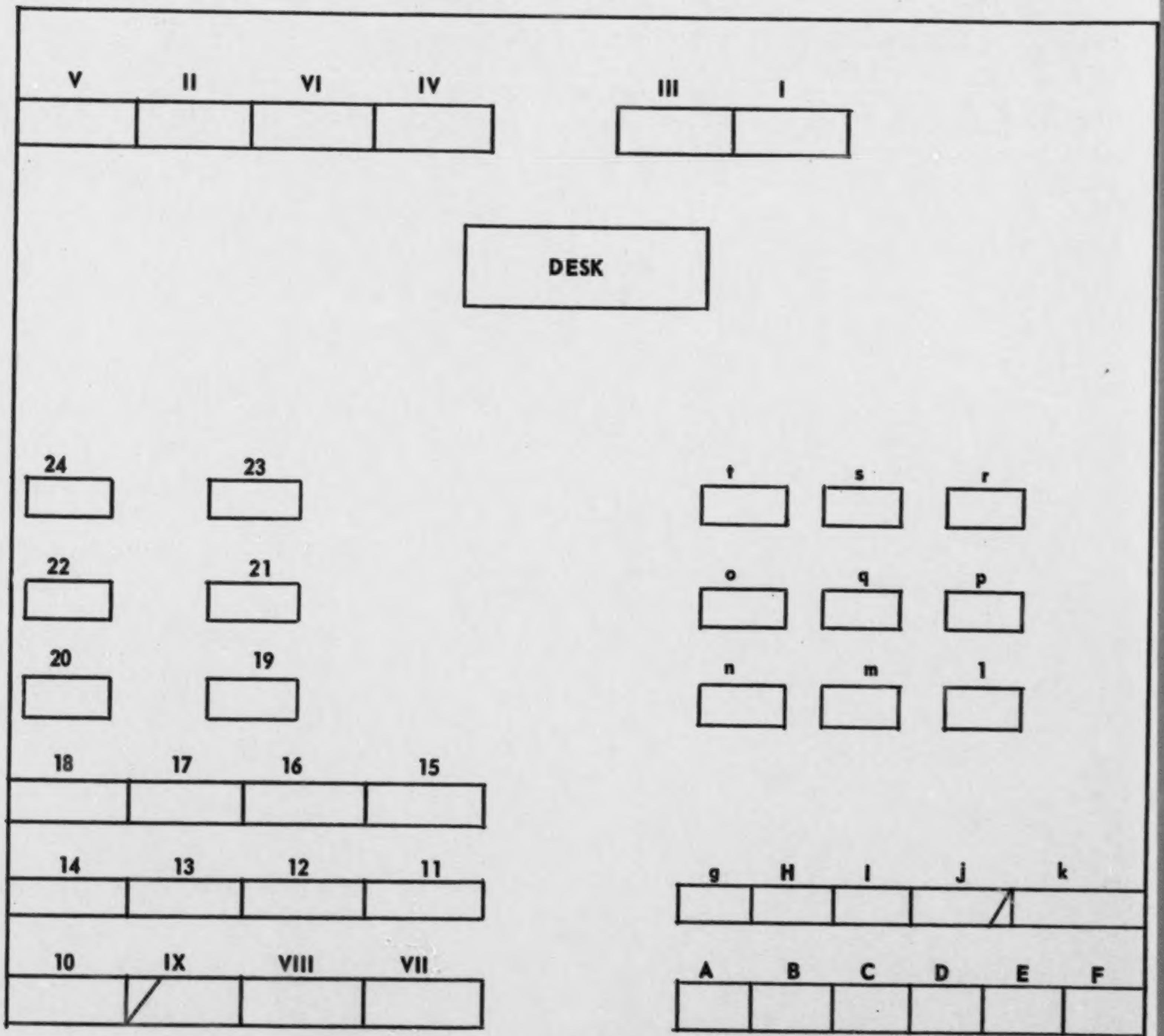

V
II
VI
IV
III
I
DESK
24
23
t
s
r
22
21
o
q
p
20
19
n
m
1
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
g
H
I
j
k
10
IX
VIII
VII
A
B
C
D
E
F

FIGURE 10 – SEATING PATTERN AT LEHR (CHURCH), IN SCHOOL HOUSE, DARIUSHOF

Every individual age six and over has an assigned seat.

Men are numbered in order from oldest to youngest
Roman numeral indicates 'boss' position
    Men on front bench sit in order of rank
    Men in congregation sit strictly by age
    Boys below / have not been baptized

Women are lettered from oldest to youngest
    Married women are shown by capital letters, unmarried by lower case letters
    All those below / have not been baptized
    Women sit strictly by age without reference to marital status or baptism

Executive Council members are:

- I Preacher
- III Assistant preacher
- IV Householder
- VI Field boss
- II Elected member
- V German teacher

Extended Council:
Includes the Executive Council and only three more persons in this small colony: VII, VIII, IX

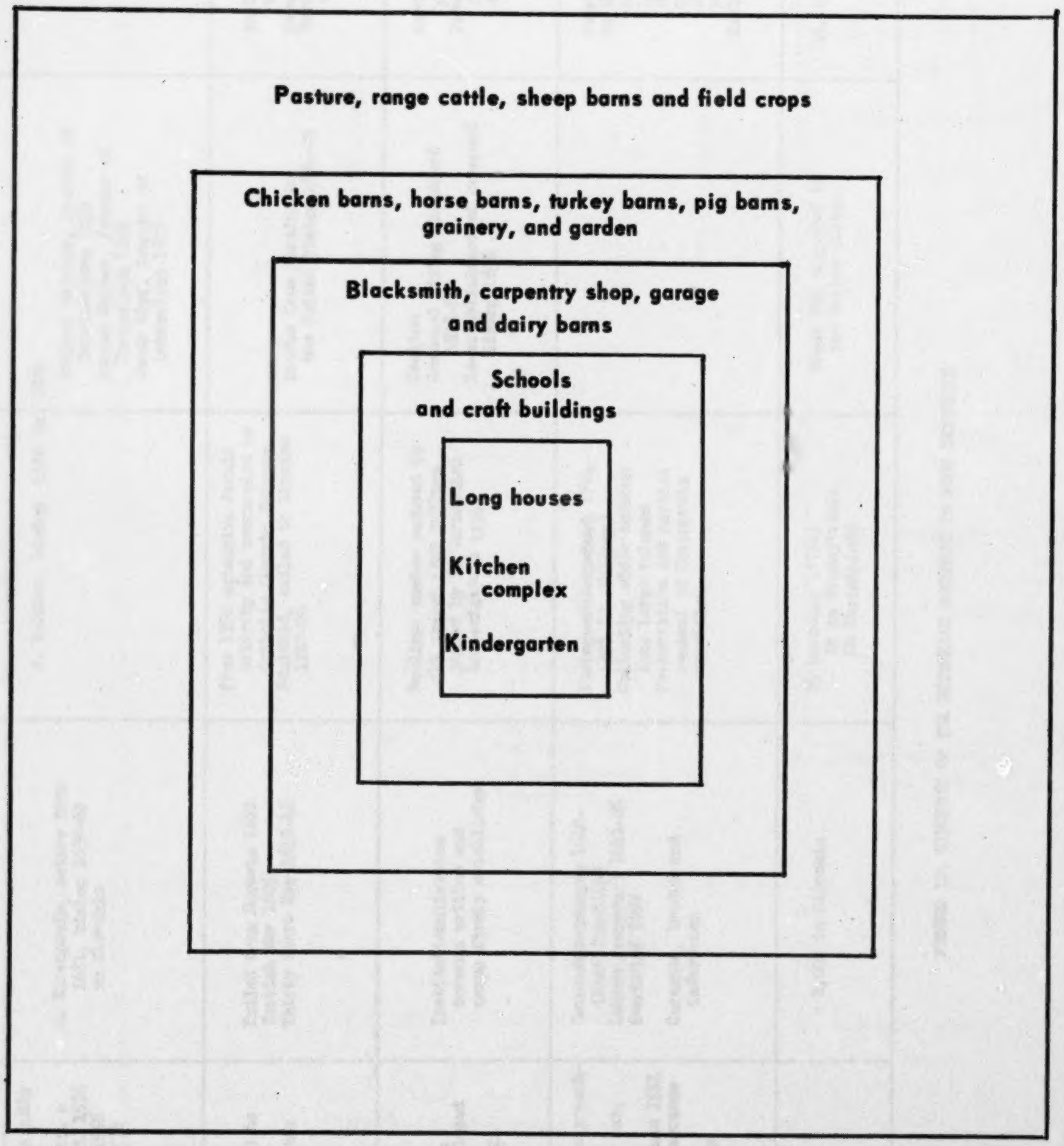

Pasture, range cattle, sheep barns and field crops
Chicken barns, horse barns, turkey barns, pig barns, grainery, and garden
Blacksmith, carpentry shop, garage and dairy barns
Schools and craft buildings
Long houses
Kitchen complex
Kindergarten

FIGURE 11
SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF LAND USE FROM THE CENTER OF THE COLONY TO THE OUTER EDGE

	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900	200
LOCATION	Tyrol Moravia 1529-1622	Slovakia 1621 Transylvania 1621-1767	Ukraine 1770-1874	United States 1874-	United States Canada 1918	
LEADERS-PERSONALITIES	J. Wiedemann, intro. community of goods 1528 J. Hutter, organiser, est. a sound foundation. d. 1536 P. Rideman, bishop. d. 1556 P. Walpot, bishop. d. 1578	A. Ehrenpreis, active from 1621, bishop 1639-62 in Slovakia	J. Waldner, bishop 1796 to 1824	Michael Waldner, founder of Schmiedeleut 1858 Darius Walter, founder of Dariusleut 1866 Jacob Wipf, founder of Lehrerleut 1877		
EXTERNAL RELATIONS	Martyrdom 1529-1554 and to 1618 Prosperous era or "golden period" 1555-95	Exiled from Moravia 1622 Turkish War 1605 Thirty Years War 1618-48	From 1750 extensive Jesuit activity and conversion to Catholic Church: Habaner Banished, exiled to Ukraine 1767-70	Exodus from Ukraine to the United States 1874-79	To Canada during World War I 1918 Security and growth Borrowing American technology	
INTERNAL MOOD	Charismatic enthusiasm, followed by fully developed communal life, and stabilization from 1555-	Institutionalization Sermons written and norms firmly established	Decline: number reduced to "19 souls" (KGB 257) but joined by 56 Carinthian transmigrants 1756	Decline Communal living abandoned 1818-58 Re-establishment of communal living 1858	Martyr church even if not persecuted Formalized 17th century intellectual life, sermons and Gemeindeordnungen	
CONTRIBUTION	Hymns composed, visions preached, mission activity Communal living firmly est. Literary activity: Rechenschaften; Rideman 1541 Taufreden and early sermons from c. 1580 Geschichtsbuch 1560's Schul-Ordnung 1568	Gemeindeordnungen 1640- (Norm fixation) Lehren (sermons) 1641-65 Sendbrief 1652 Ceramics, trades and industries	Kleingeschichtsbuch 1794-1802 (J. Waldner) Collecting older sermons into large volumes Preservation and partial renewal of Ehrenpreis tradition		Reprinting of early literature by Elias Walter, bishop d. 1938: Rechenschaft 1902 Lieder 1914 Sendbrief 1920 Geschichtsbuch 1923 Kl. Liederbuch 1930 Kl. Geschichtsbuch 1947 Exclusively agricultural	
POPULATION	c 20,000 in Moravia	c 2,000 in Slovakia	75 persons: (1756) 19 in Transylvania 56 Carinthians	About 800 migrated to the United States	15,249 (in 1965)	

FIGURE 12. SYNOPSIS OF THE HUTTERIAN MOVEMENT IN FOUR CENTURIES

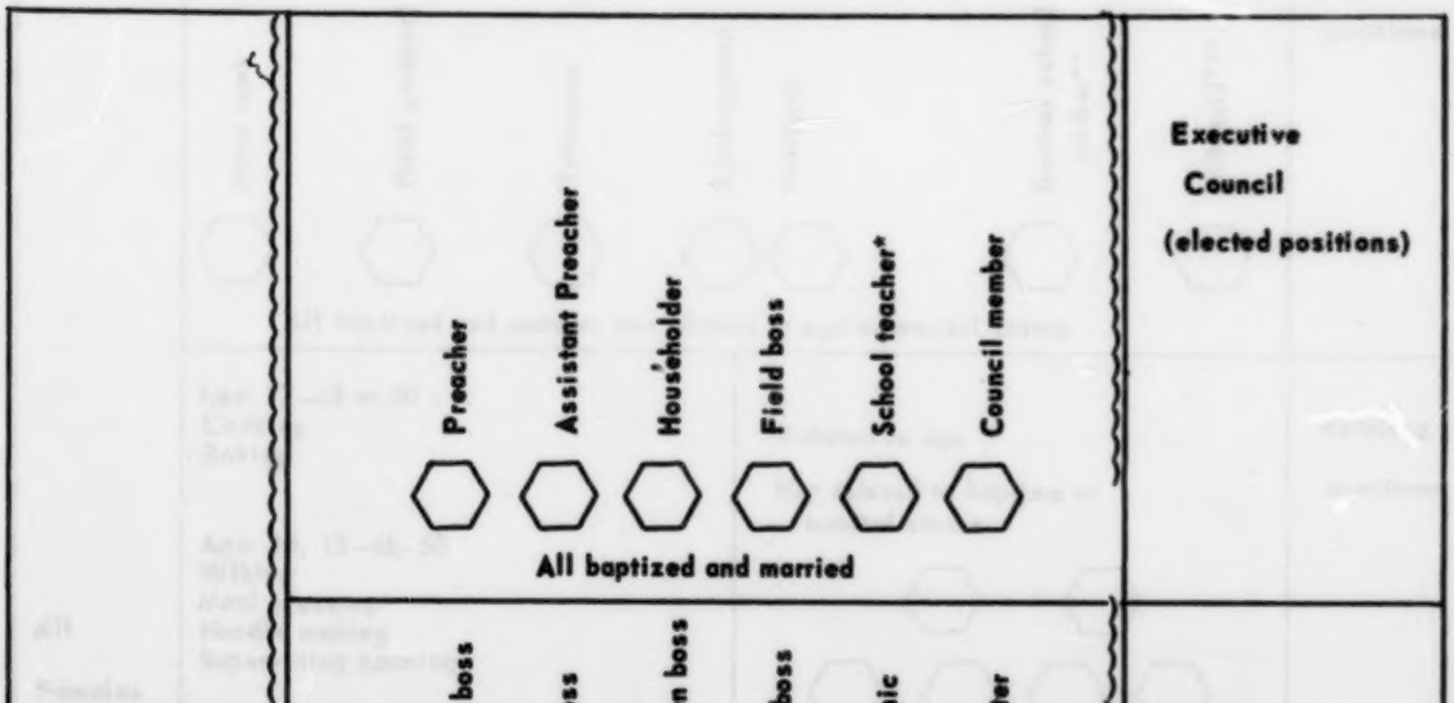
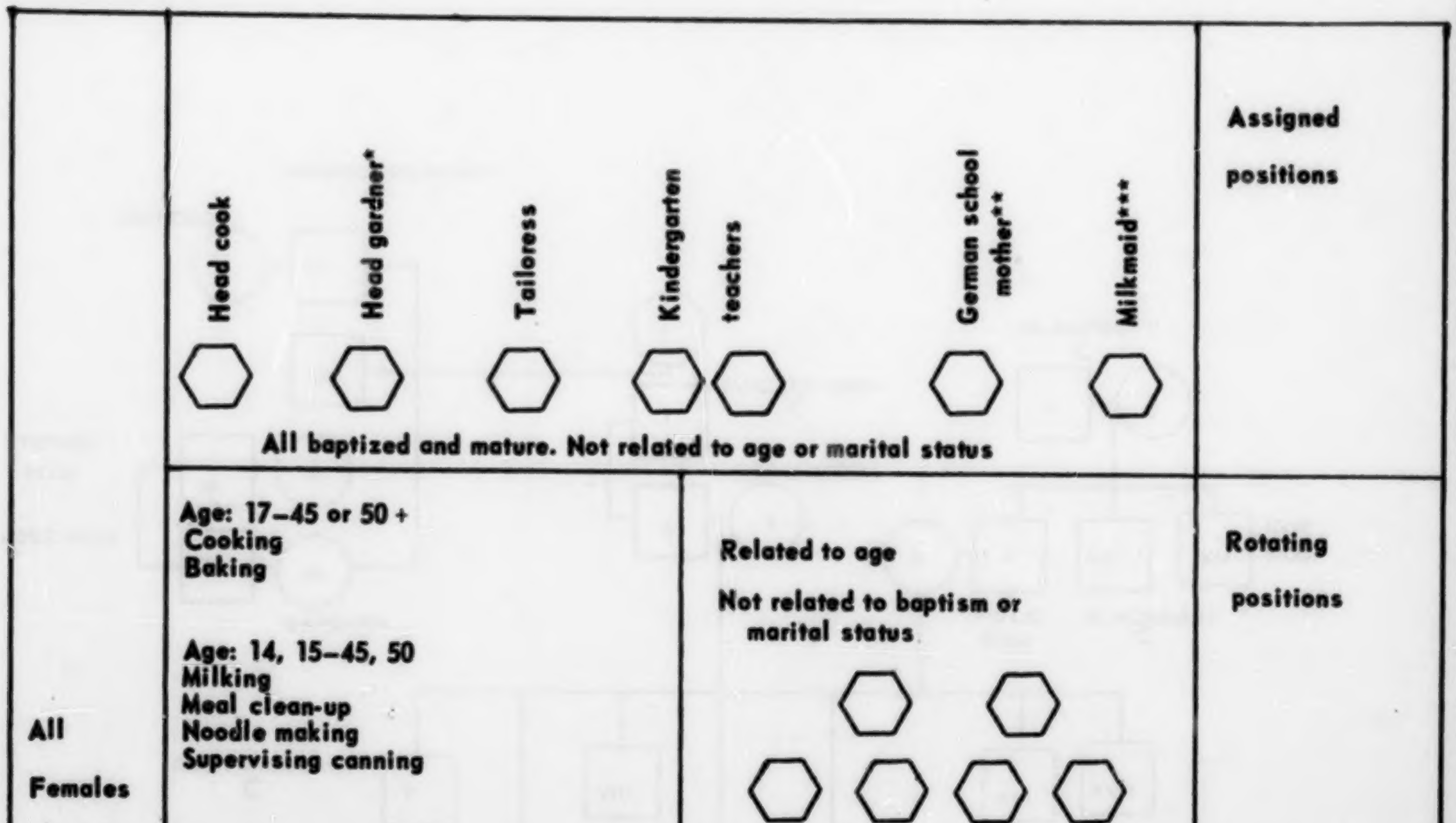

Extended Council: All baptized male members
Preacher
Assistant Preacher
Householder
Field boss
School teacher*
Council member
All baptized and married
Executive Council (elected positions)
Cattle boss
Hog boss
Chicken boss
Sheep boss
Head mechanic
Head carpenter
All baptized and married.
Departmental Managers: (assigned positions)
*bee keeper
* shoemaker
*geese boss
*gardener
Combined with other jobs
Baptized and not married
Not baptized or married.
Helpers, mobile labor force.

FIGURE 13 – ORGANIZATION OF MALE LABOR AND COLONY COUNCILS

*German teacher is not on the council in Schmiedehof.



All Females over 14 work and older ones able to work	Head cook Head gardner* Tailoress Kindergarten teachers German school mother** Milkmaid*** All baptized and mature. Not related to age or marital status		Assigned positions
	Age: 17–45 or 50 + Cooking Baking Age: 14, 15–45, 50 Milking Meal clean-up Noodle making Supervising canning	Related to age Not related to baptism or marital status	Rotating positions
	Age: 14, 15–45, 50 Food preparation rolling baked goods* peeling potatoes* canning & freezing butchering chickens, ducks & geese Food production hoeing garden picking veg. and fruit caring for ducklings and goslings Cleaning soap making annual cleaning of colony buildings certain scrub jobs Age: 14, 15-till marriage most of colony scrubbing all colony painting and varnishing	Related to age and marital status Not related to baptism	Non-rotating work

FIGURE 14 – ORGANIZATIONOF FEMALE LABOR

Each mature woman does her own housework, laundry and sewing assisted by daughters or other female relatives.

*In Lehrerhof this is a male position.
**In Dariushof she is the wife of the school teacher.
***Serves as cook for new mothers and is wife of cattle boss.
#Rotates in some colonies.
+Age 50 applies in Dariushof but topmost jobs are held longer.

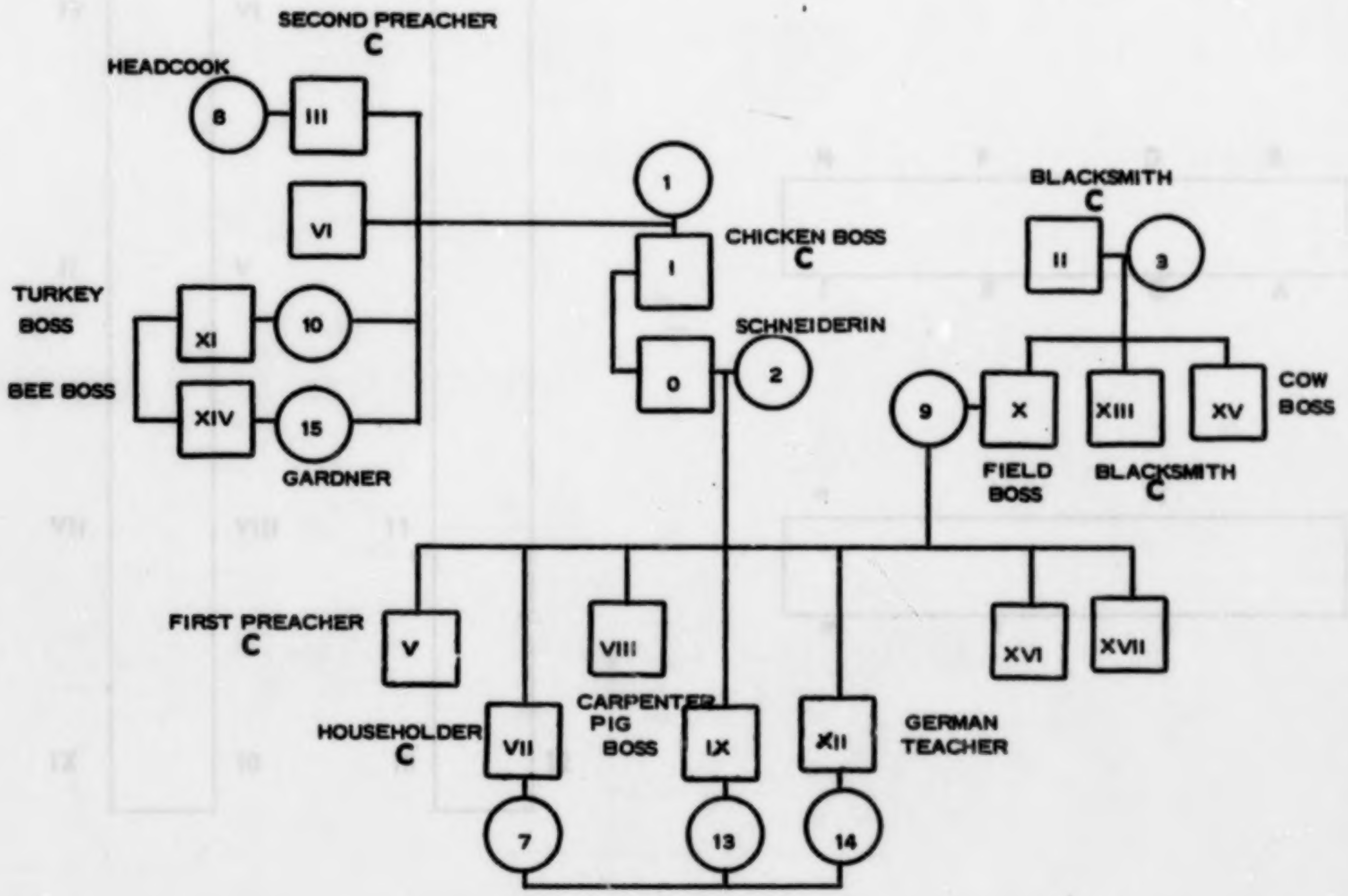

SECOND PREACHER
C
HEADCOOK
8
III
VI
1
BLACKSMITH
C
CHICKEN BOSS
C
I
II
3
TURKEY
BOSS
XI
10
SCHNEIDERIN
0
2
BEE BOSS
XIV
15
9
X
XIII
XV
COW
BOSS
GARDNER
FIELD
BOSS
BLACKSMITH
C
FIRST PREACHER
C
V
VIII
XVI
XVII
CARPENTER
PIG
BOSS
HOUSEHOLDER
C
VII
IX
XII
GERMAN
TEACHER
7
13
14

FIGURE 15

HEADS OF NUCLEAR FAMILIES BY FAMILY RELATIONSHIP AND LEADERSHIP POSITION

Men are numbered from oldest to youngest with Roman numerals
Women are numbered from oldest to youngest with Arabic numerals

Sibships

I, O (deceased)

V, VII, VIII, IX, O, XI, XII, XVI, XVII; children of 2

III, VI, 10, 15; children of I and 1

X, XIII, XV; children of II and 3

7, 13, 14; from an other colony

XI, XIV; no parents in this colony

2 is the maternal aunt of 8

C member of council; V, III, VII, X, I, II

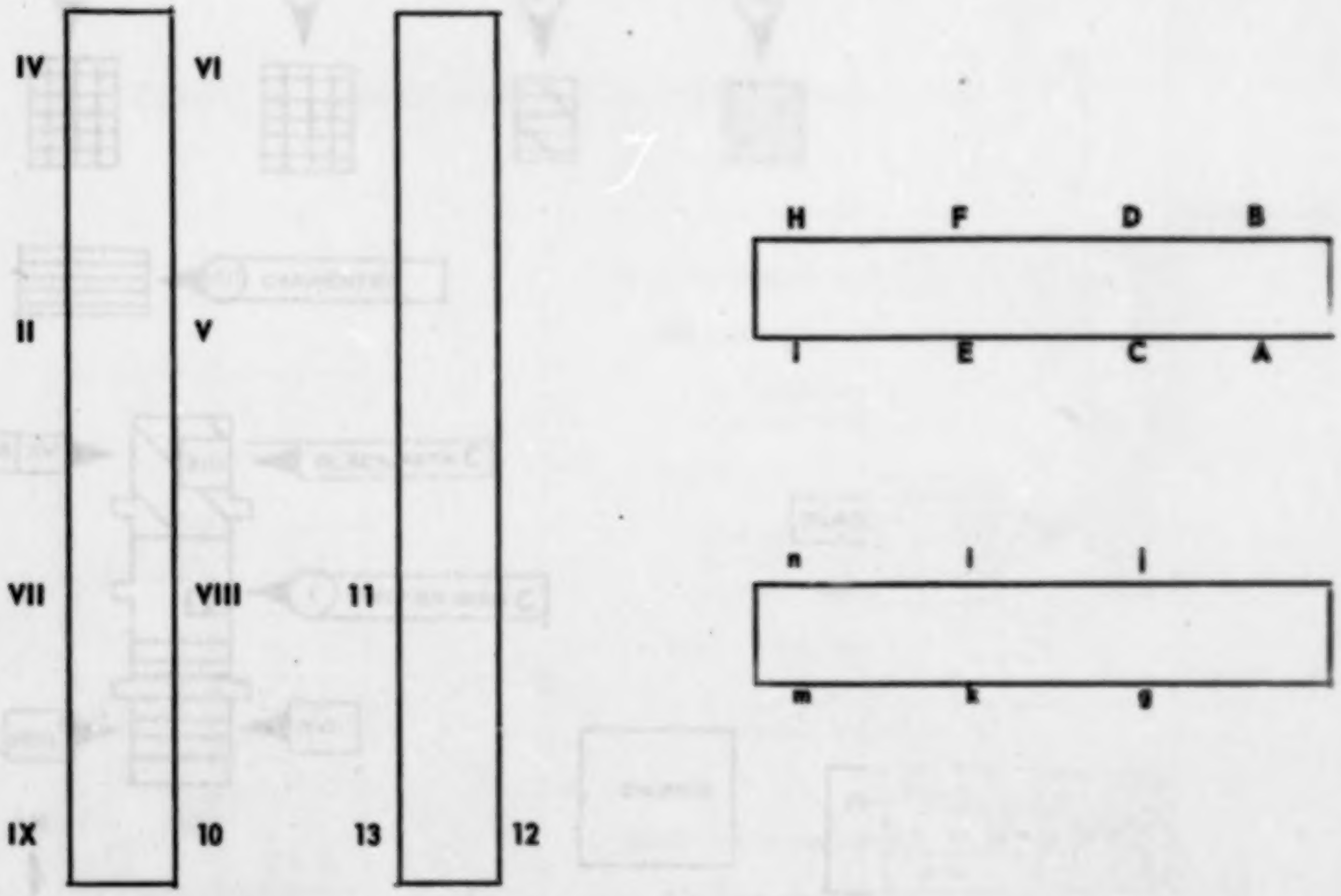


FIGURE 16 – SEATING PATTERN IN ADULT DINING ROOM, DARIUSHOF

Colony members age 15 and older eat in the adult dining room. Aged members may eat at a separate table of both men and women or food may be brought to their apartment.

Men are numbered from oldest to youngest

Roman numerals indicate 'boss' positions
Preachers eat at the home of the first preacher
Men on the front bench at church sit in the dining room by order of their rank
Highest ranking man present says the prayers
Men not on front bench sit by age

Women are lettered from oldest to youngest

Married women have capital letter, unmarried lower case letter
Sit by age except that married women sit together and unmarried women sit together

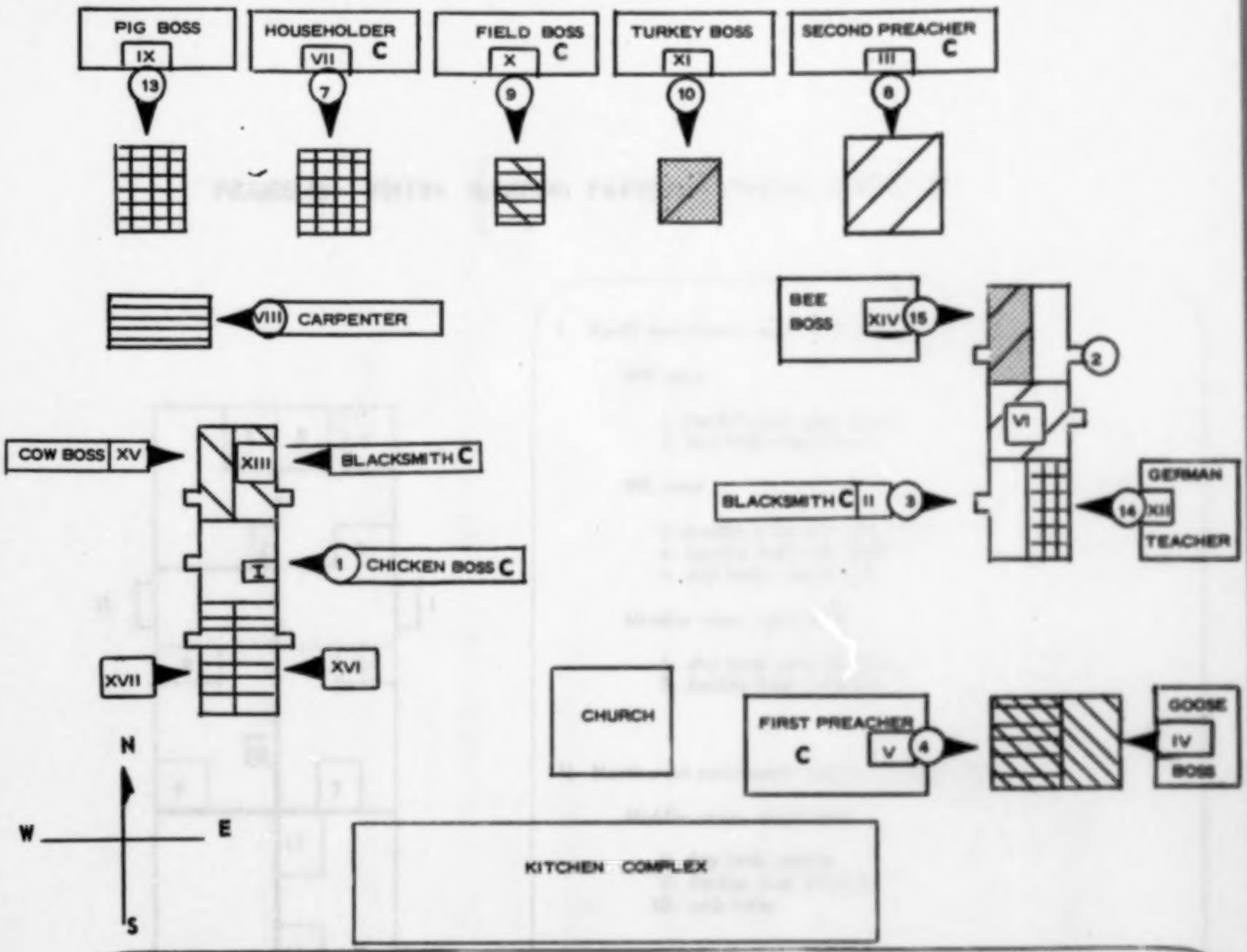

PIG BOSS
IX
13
HOUSEHOLDER
VII
C
7
FIELD BOSS
X
C
9
TURKEY BOSS
XI
10
SECOND PREACHER
III
C
8
CARPENTER
VIII
BEE BOSS
XIV
15
2
VI
COW BOSS
XV
XIII
BLACKSMITH C
BLACKSMITH C
II
3
GERMAN TEACHER
14
XII
1
CHICKEN BOSS C
I
XVII
XVI
CHURCH
FIRST PREACHER
C
V
4
GOOSE BOSS
IV
N
W
E
S
KITCHEN COMPLEX

FIGURE 17 – RESIDENCE PATTERN BY SIBSHIP & LEADERSHIP POSITION, SCHMIEDEHOF

Men are numbered from oldest to youngest with Roman numerals
Women are numbered from oldest to youngest with Arabic numerals

Two sibships supplied husbands and wives

▦ VII, IX, XII ARE BROTHERS: SONS OF 2
7, 13, 14 ARE SISTERS

▨ XI, XIV ARE BROTHERS
10, 15 ARE SISTERS: DAUGHTERS OF I AND 1

Single sibships

▤ V, VII, VIII, IX, 9, XII, XVI, XVII: CHILDREN OF 2

▨ III, VI, 10, 15: CHILDREN OF I AND 1

▧ X, XIII, XV: SONS OF II AND 3

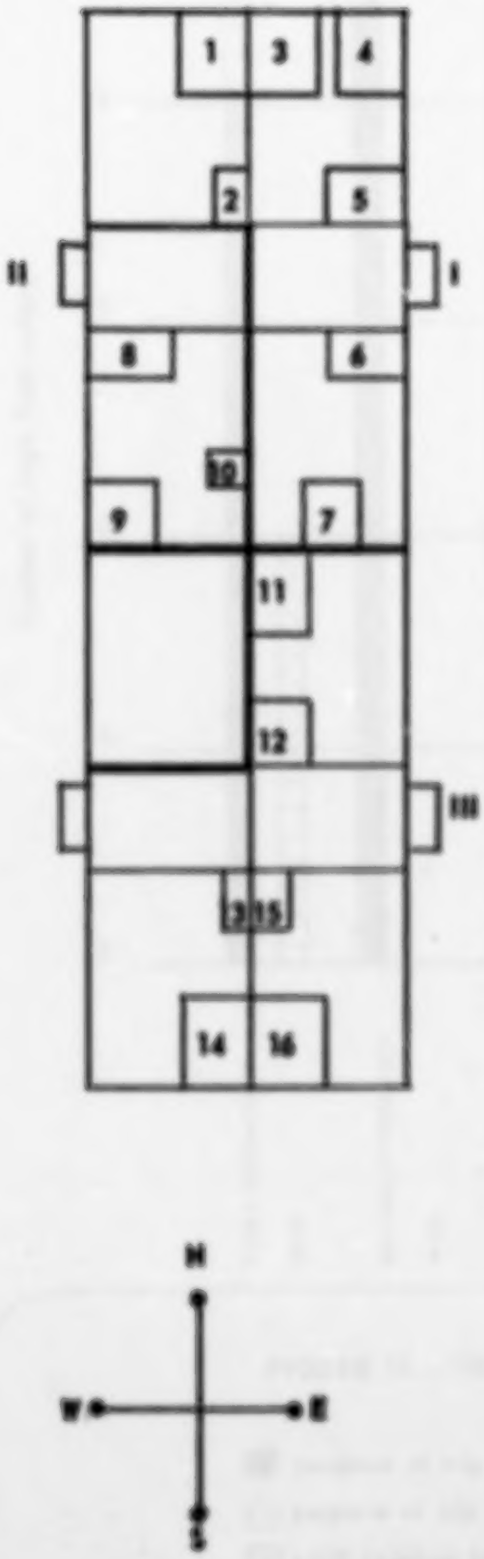
▩ IV, 4 ARE BROTHER AND SISTER

▥ 7, 13, 14 ARE SISTERS

▒ XI, XIV ARE BROTHERS

2 IS MATERNAL AUNT OF 8

FIGURE 18 WINTER SLEEPING PATTERN, TYPICAL LONGHOUSE



I North apartment: Asst. minister (9 persons)

NW room

1. double bed: dau 16 yrs.
2. day bed: dau 12 yrs.

NE room

3. double bed: sons 21, 13 yrs.
4. double bed: for guests
5. day bed - son 9 yrs.

Middle room, east side

6. day bed: sons 8, 2 yrs.
7. double bed: parents

II Northwest apartment: pig boss (3 persons)

Middle room, west side

8. day bed: empty
9. double bed: parents
10. crib baby

III South apartment: Chicken boss (8 persons)

Middle room, west side, unassigned

Middle east room

11. double bed: son 20 yrs.
12. day bed: son 13 yrs.

SW room of baptized dau.

13. day bed: sister, 15 yrs.
14. double bed: 25 yrs. old and sister 17 yrs.

SE room

15. day bed: dau 9 yrs.
16. double bed: parents

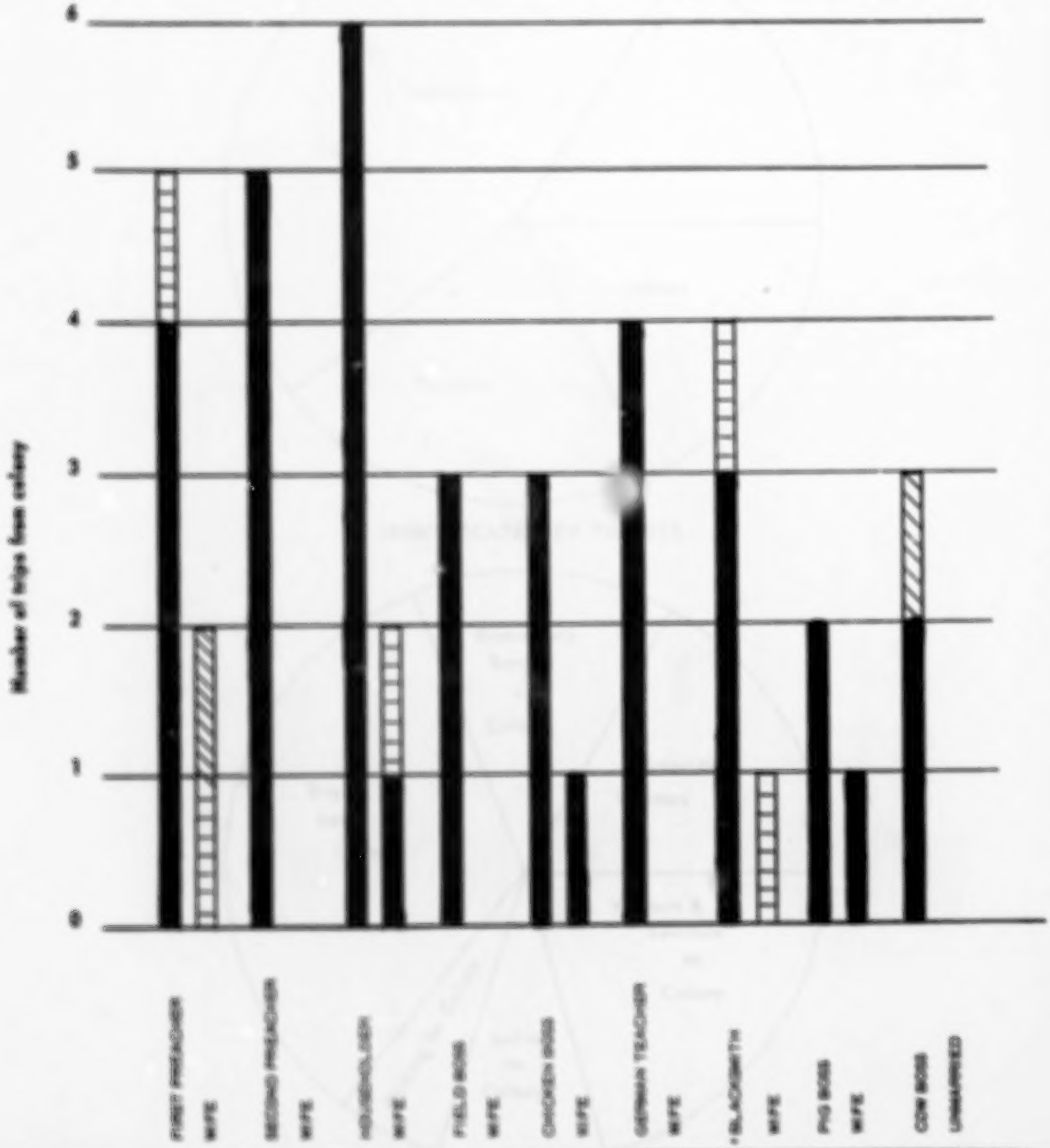
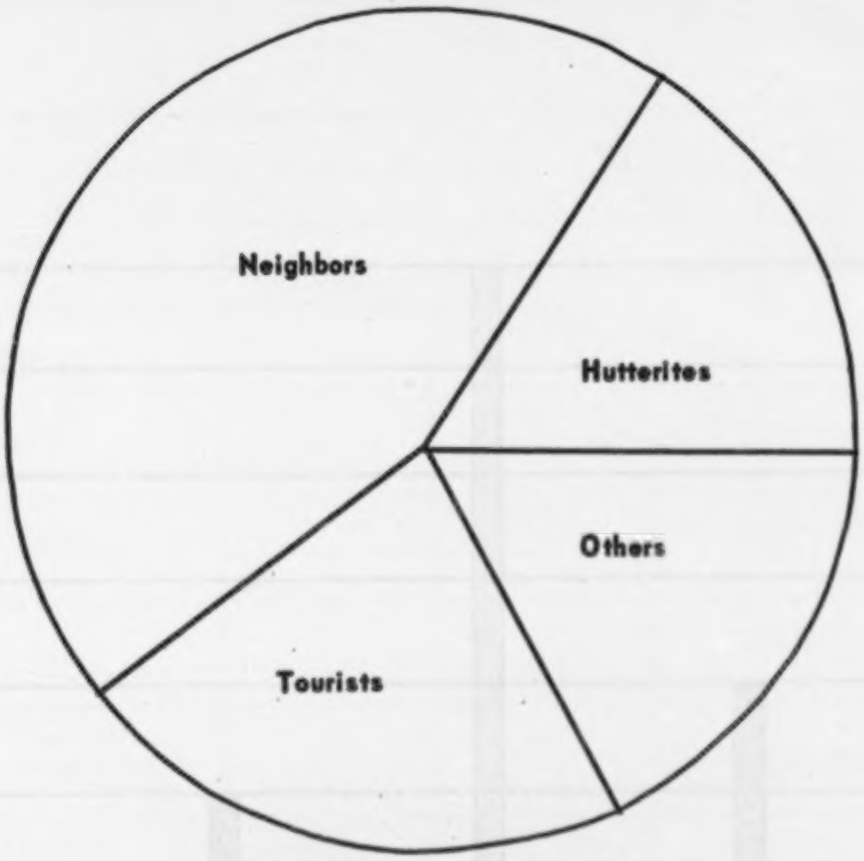
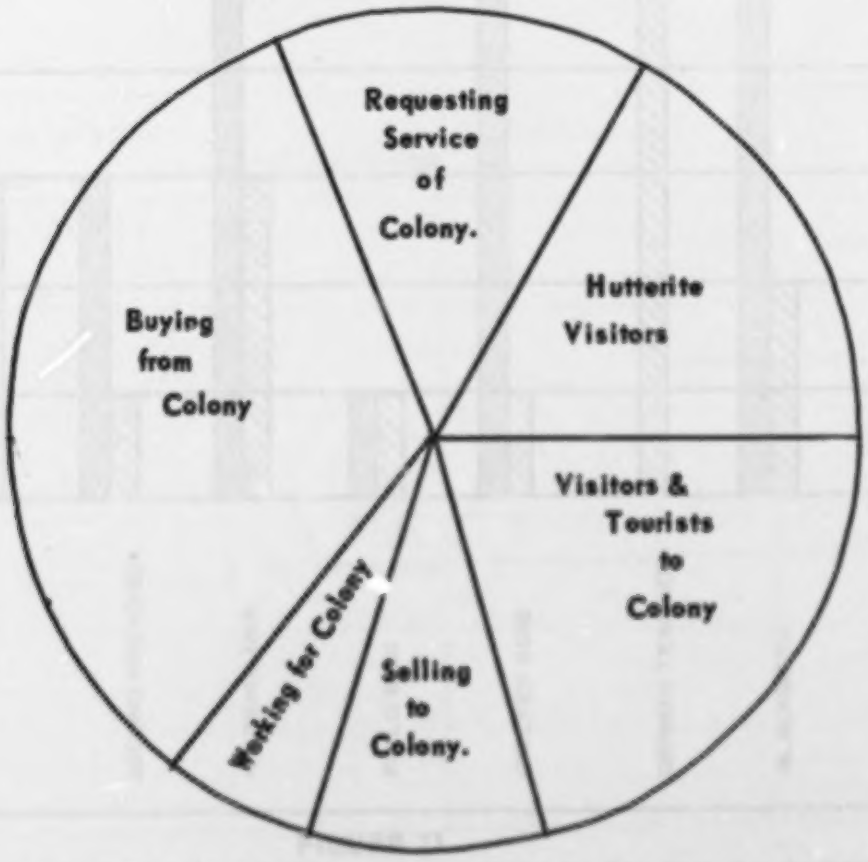


FIGURE 19 – TRIPS MADE FROM DARIUSHOF, TWO WEEK PERIOD, July 22 – August 4

■ purpose of trip primarily economic (women berry picking)
▤ purpose of trip primarily social (all trips to mother colony)
▨ visit relative in hospital



IDENTIFICATION OF VISITORS



REASON FOR VISIT

FIGURE 20 – VISITORS TO THE COLONY, TWO WEEK PERIOD, DARIUSHOF July 22 – August 4

The number of vehicles was used as unit of measure

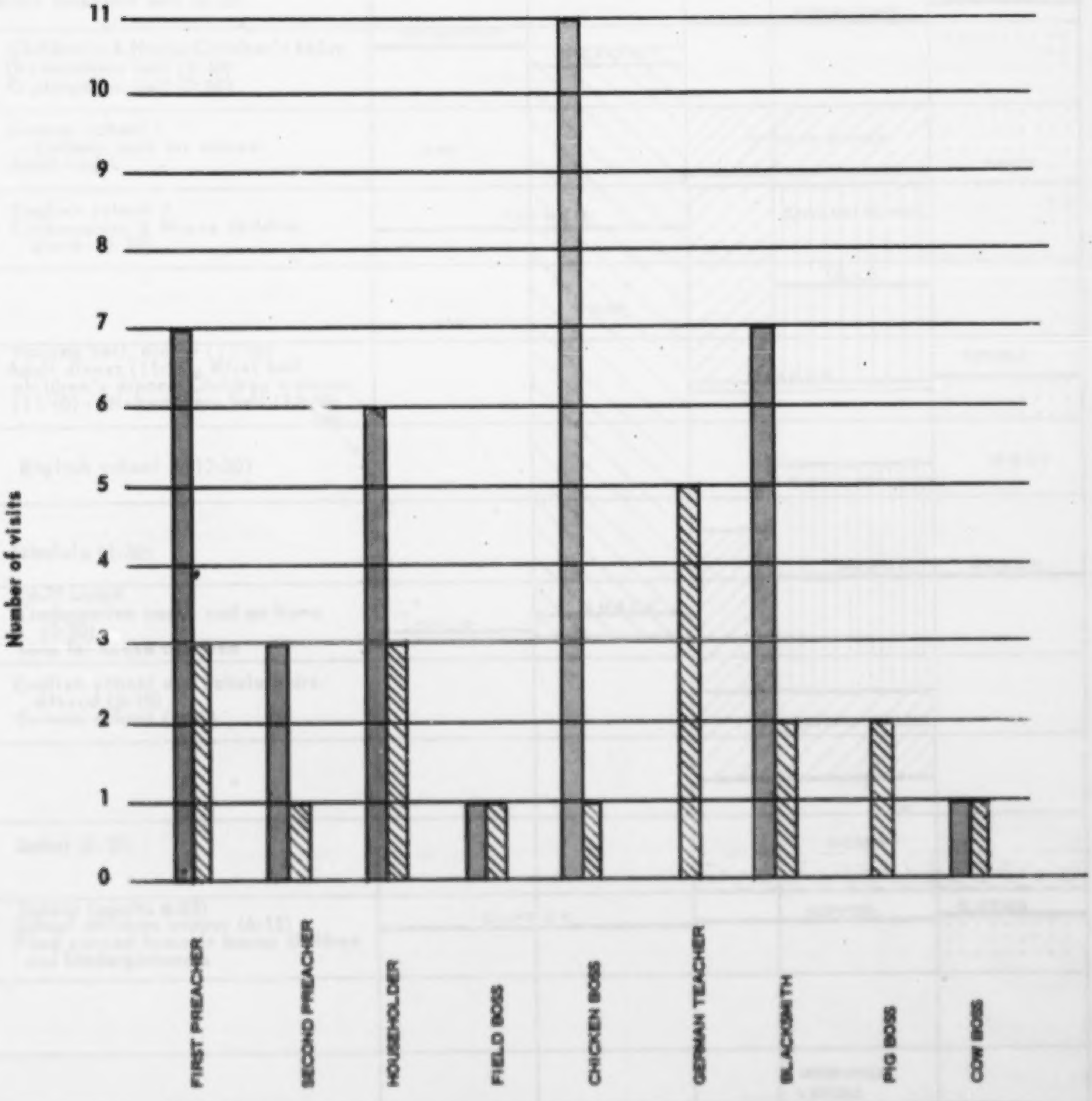
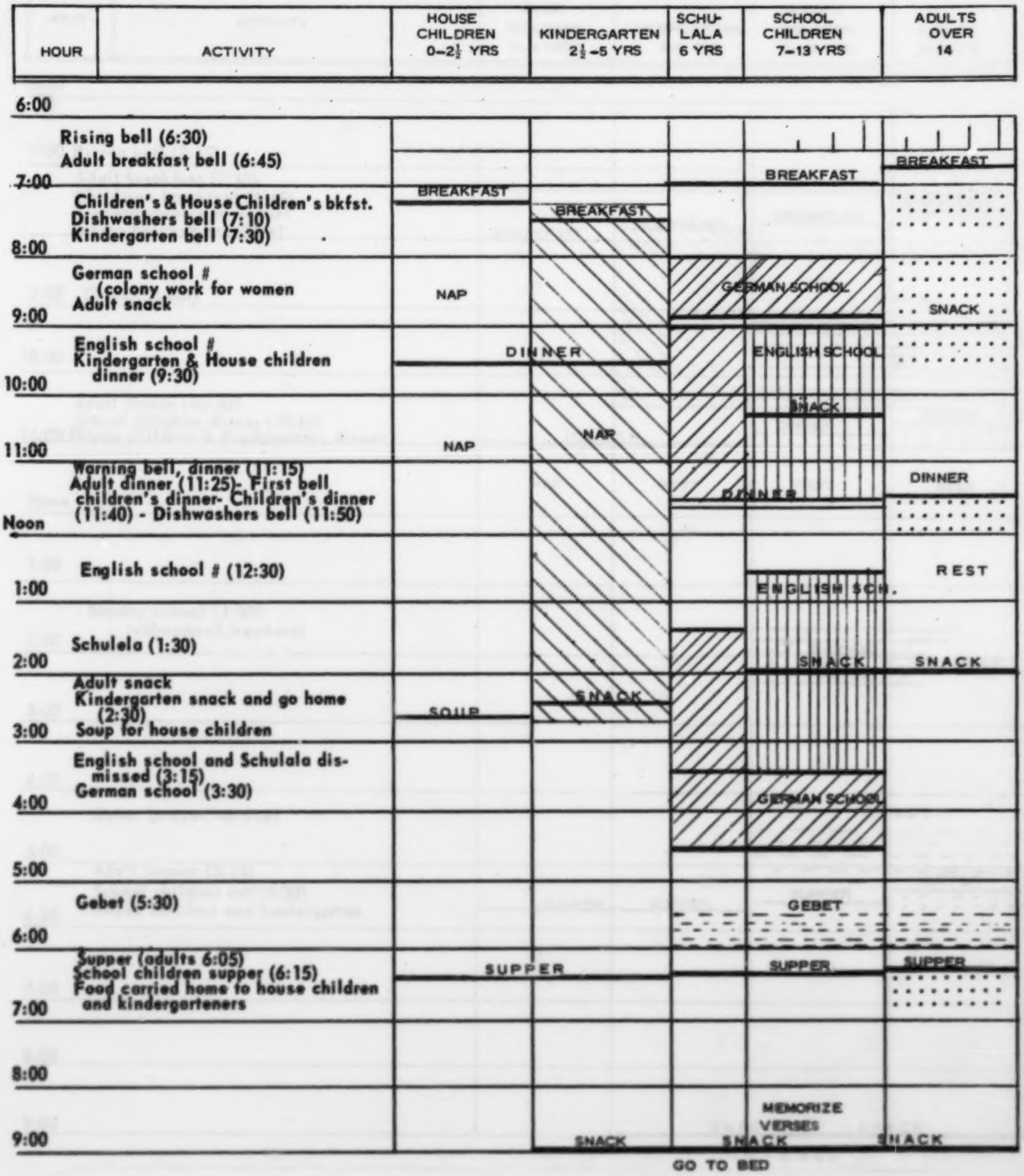


FIGURE 21
VISITS TO COLONY AND PERSONS CONTACTED IN COLONY BY OUTSIDERS,
TWO WEEK PERIOD AT DARIUSHOF, JULY 22– AUGUST 4

▮ non-Hutterite visitors

▨ Hutterite visitors

Tourists are shown around by adolescent girls or boys or women



6:00

Rising bell (6:30)
Adult breakfast bell (6:45)

7:00

Children's & House Children's bkfst.
Dishwashers bell (7:10)
Kindergarten bell (7:30)

8:00

German school #
(colony work for women
Adult snack

9:00

English school #
Kindergarten & House children dinner (9:30)

10:00

11:00

Warning bell, dinner (11:15)
Adult dinner (11:25)- First bell children's dinner- Children's dinner (11:40) - Dishwashers bell (11:50)

Noon

English school # (12:30)

1:00

Schulela (1:30)

2:00

Adult snack
Kindergarten snack and go home (2:30)
Soup for house children

3:00

English school and Schulala dismissed (3:15)
German school (3:30)

4:00

5:00

Gebet (5:30)

6:00

Supper (adults 6:05)
School children supper (6:15)
Food carried home to house children and kindergarteners

7:00

8:00

9:00

FIGURE 22 – WINTER WEEK-DAY SCHEDULE, LEHRERHOF

KEY Activity announced by colony bell is underlined

colony work for women ⁘

Kindergarten ▧

English School ▥

German school ▨

Gebet ☰

Hand bell #

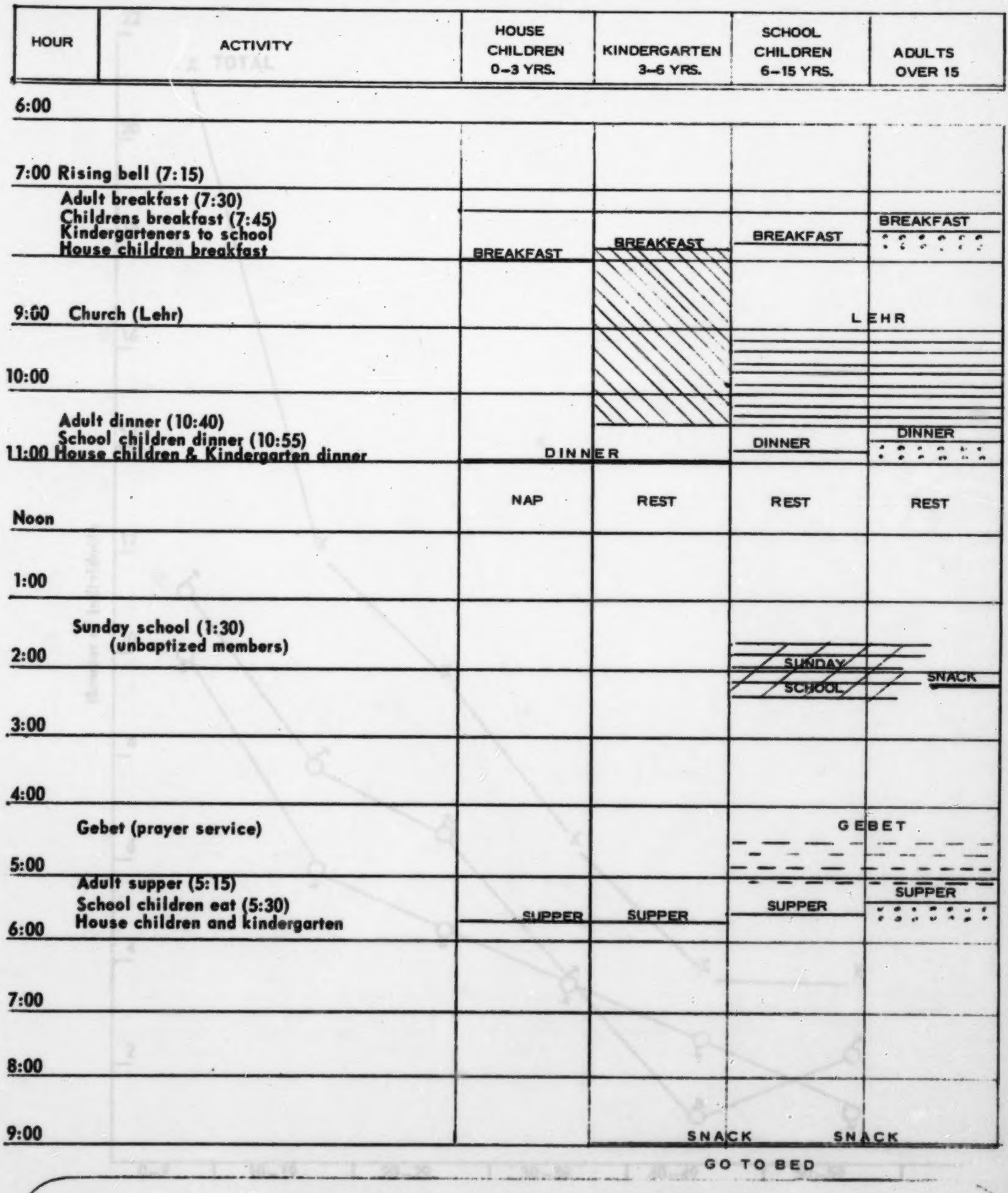

HOUR
ACTIVITY
HOUSE CHILDREN 0–3 YRS.
KINDERGARTEN 3–6 YRS.
SCHOOL CHILDREN 6–15 YRS.
ADULTS OVER 15
6:00
7:00 Rising bell (7:15)
Adult breakfast (7:30)
Childrens breakfast (7:45)
Kindergarteners to school
House children breakfast
BREAKFAST
BREAKFAST
BREAKFAST
BREAKFAST
9:00 Church (Lehr)
LEHR
10:00
Adult dinner (10:40)
School children dinner (10:55)
11:00 House children & Kindergarten dinner
DINNER
DINNER
DINNER
NAP
REST
REST
REST
Noon
1:00
Sunday school (1:30)
(unbaptized members)
2:00
SUNDAY SCHOOL
SNACK
3:00
4:00
Gebet (prayer service)
GEBET
5:00
Adult supper (5:15)
School children eat (5:30)
House children and kindergarten
6:00
SUPPER
SUPPER
SUPPER
SUPPER
7:00
8:00
9:00
SNACK
SNACK
GO TO BED

FIGURE 23 – SUMMER SUNDAY SCHEDULE, DARIUSHOF

KEY

Activity announced by colony bell is underlined

Colony work for women ⁘

Church (Lehr) ☰

Gebet ┅

Sunday school ▨

Kindergarten ▧

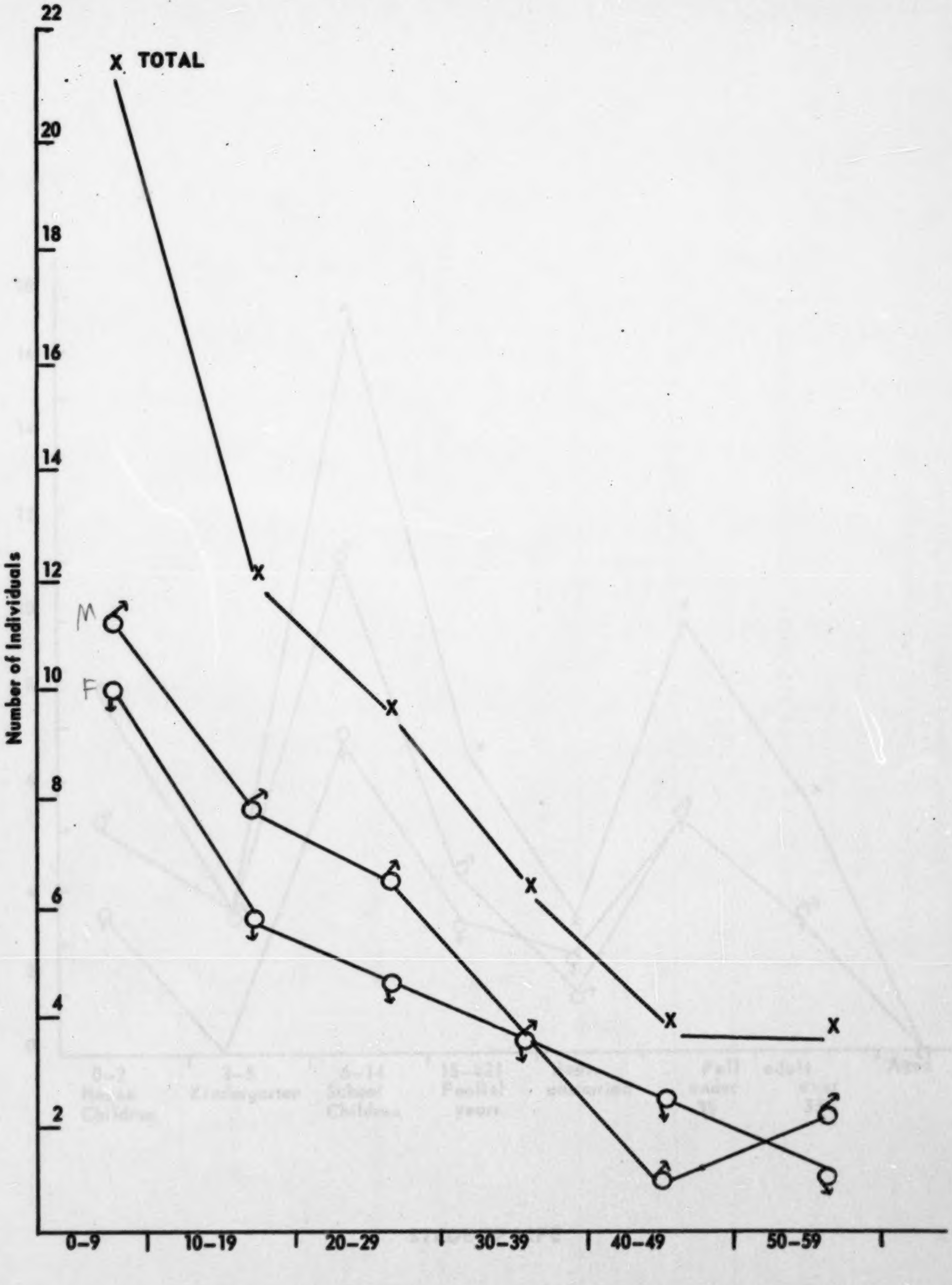


FIGURE 24–AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF DARIUSHOF POPULATION, 1965

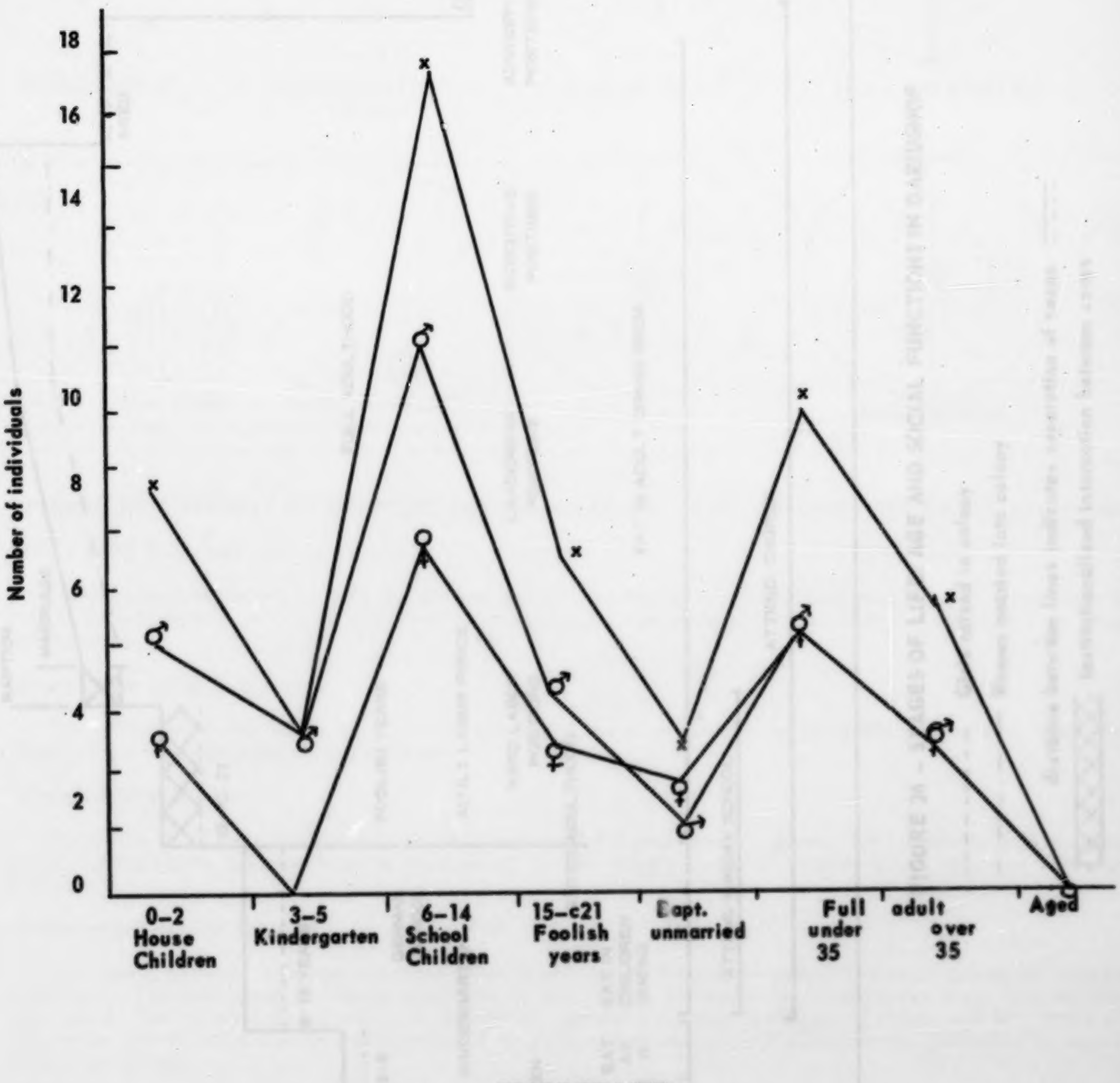


FIGURE 25 – AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION BY AGE-GRADED GROUPS, DARIUSHOF, 1965

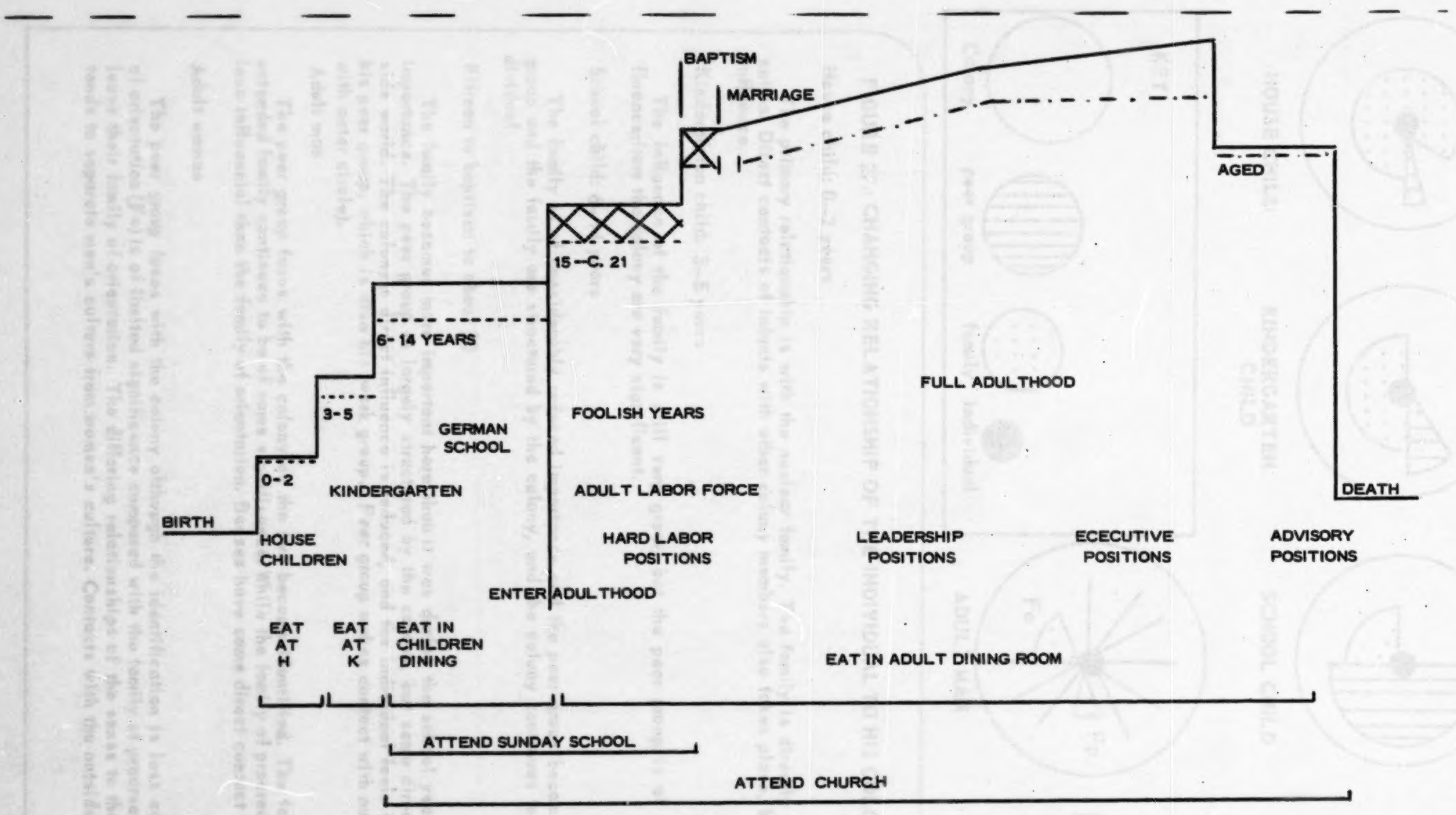

BAPTISM
MARRIAGE
AGED
DEATH
BIRTH
0-2
3-5
6- 14 YEARS
15 --C. 21
HOUSE CHILDREN
KINDERGARTEN
GERMAN SCHOOL
FOOLISH YEARS
ADULT LABOR FORCE
FULL ADULTHOOD
HARD LABOR POSITIONS
LEADERSHIP POSITIONS
ECECUTIVE POSITIONS
ADVISORY POSITIONS
ENTER ADULTHOOD
EAT AT H
EAT AT K
EAT IN CHILDREN DINING
EAT IN ADULT DINING ROOM
ATTEND SUNDAY SCHOOL
ATTEND CHURCH

FIGURE 26 – STAGES OF LIFE: AGE AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN DARIUSHOF

- - - - - - - - Girls raised in colony

— · — · — · — Women married into colony

distance between lines indicates separation of sexes ═══

▨ Institutionalized interaction between sexes

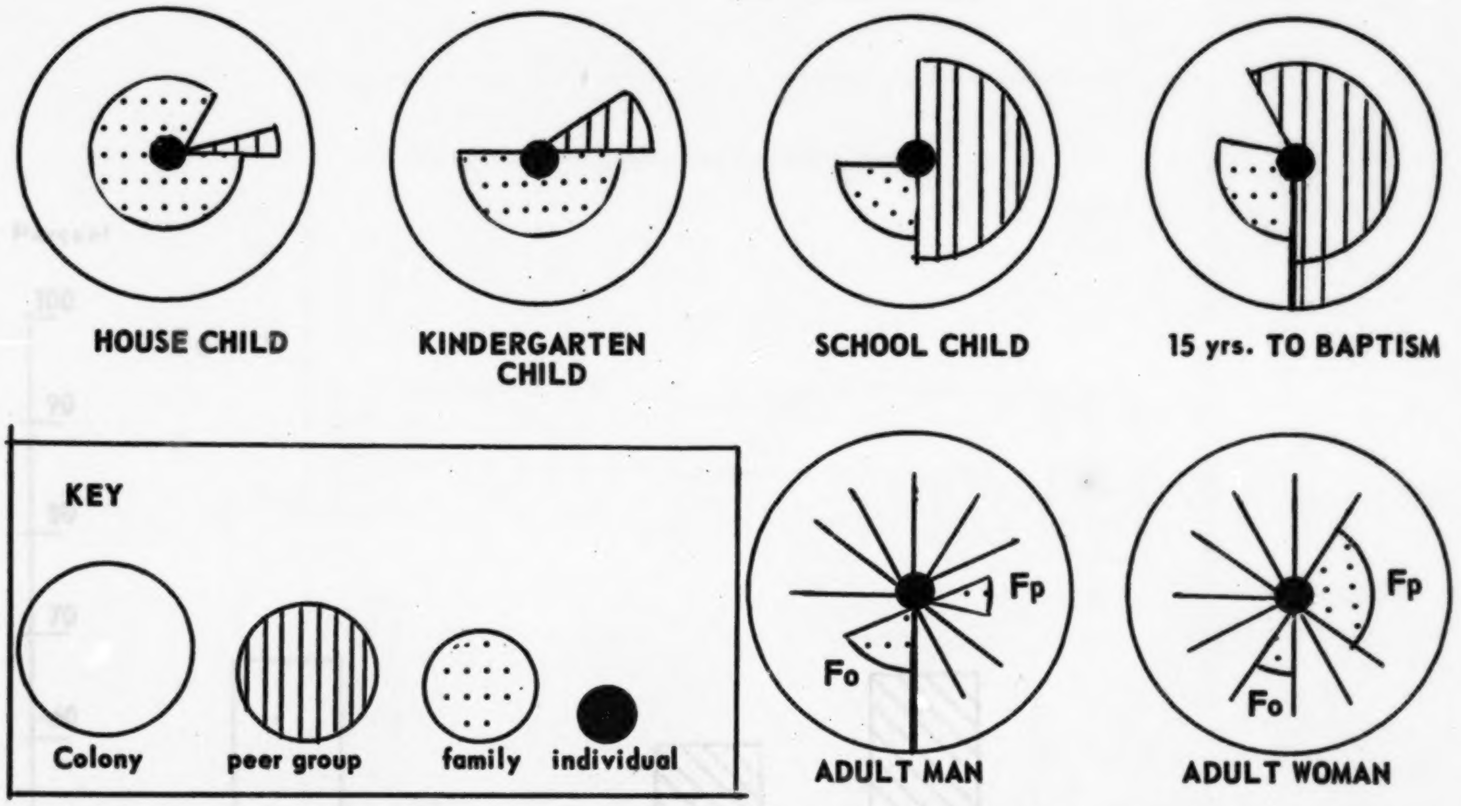


FIGURE 27.: CHANGING RELATIONSHIP OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO HIS COLONY, PEER GROUP, AND FAMILY

House child: 0–2 years

The primary relationship is with the nuclear family. The family is directly influenced by the colony organization. Direct contacts of infants with other colony members also takes place, but there is very little peer group influence.

Kindergarten child: 3–5 years

The influence of the family is still very great, but the peer group is of increasing importance. Direct influences from the colony are very significant.

School child: 6–14 years

The family is of considerably reduced importance and the peer group becomes very important. Both the peer group and the family are structured by the colony, and the colony continues to have direct influence on the individual

Fifteen to baptism: to about 20

The family becomes more important here than it was during the school years. The peer groups of supreme importance. The peer group is largely structured by the colony, but some direct influences come from the outside world. The colony's direct influence is reduced, and the individual feels identification with his family and his peer group, which is also his work group. Peer group makes contact with outside world (indicated by contact with outer circle).

Adult man

The peer group fuses with the colony as the two become identified. The family of orientation and its larger extended family continues to be of some significance. While the family of procreation (Fp) is significant, it is still less influencial than the family of orientation. Bosses have some direct contact with the outside world.

Adult woman

The peer group fuses with the colony although the identification is less complete than for men. The family of orientation (Fo) is of limited significance compared with the family of procreation (Fp). At marriage most brides leave their family of orientation. The differing relationships of the sexes to the colony (its authority patterns) tends to separate men's culture from women's culture. Contacts with the outside world are severely restricted.

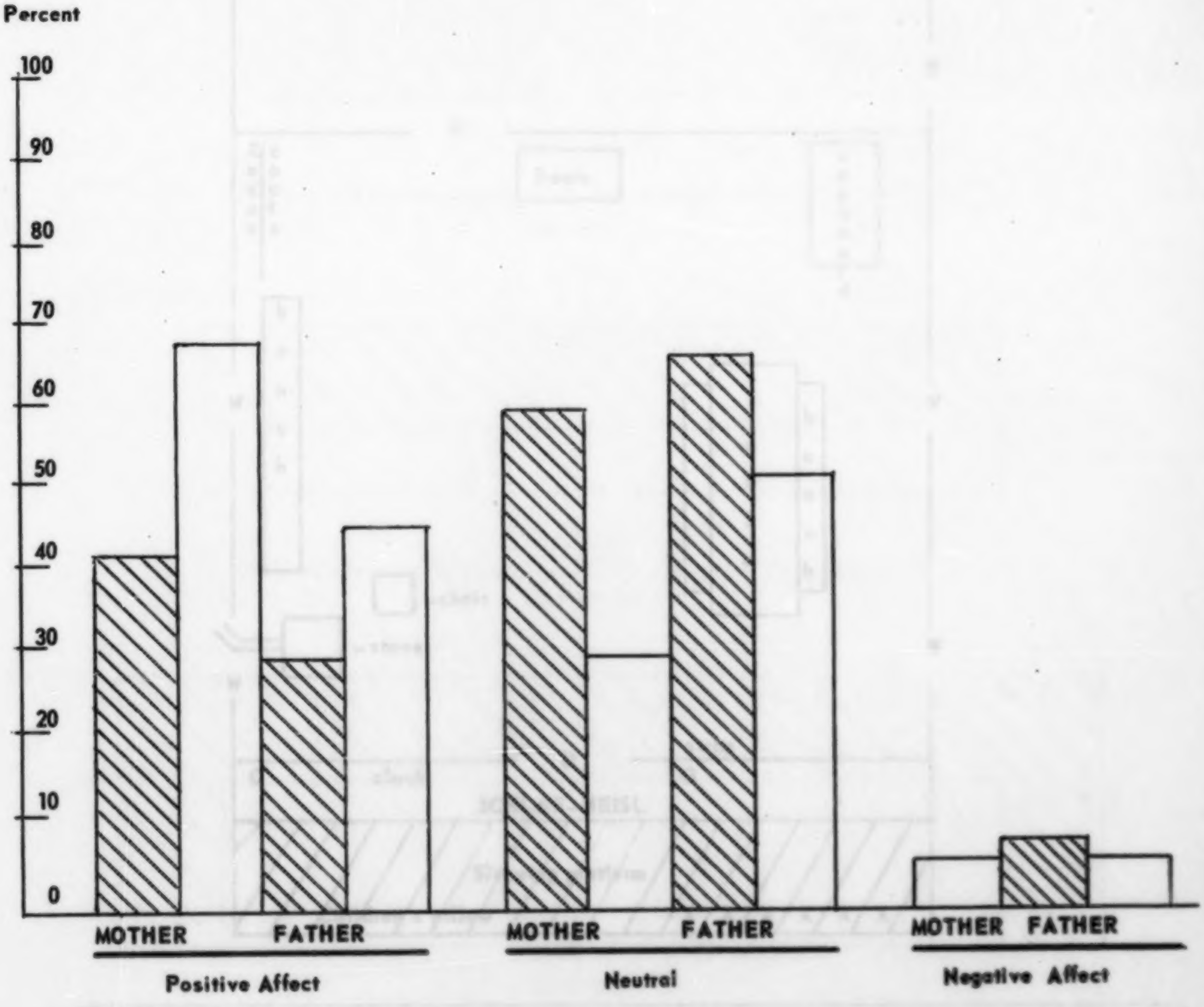


FIGURE 28

COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE FEMALE AND MALE ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR PARENTS

▨ FEMALES ☐ MALES

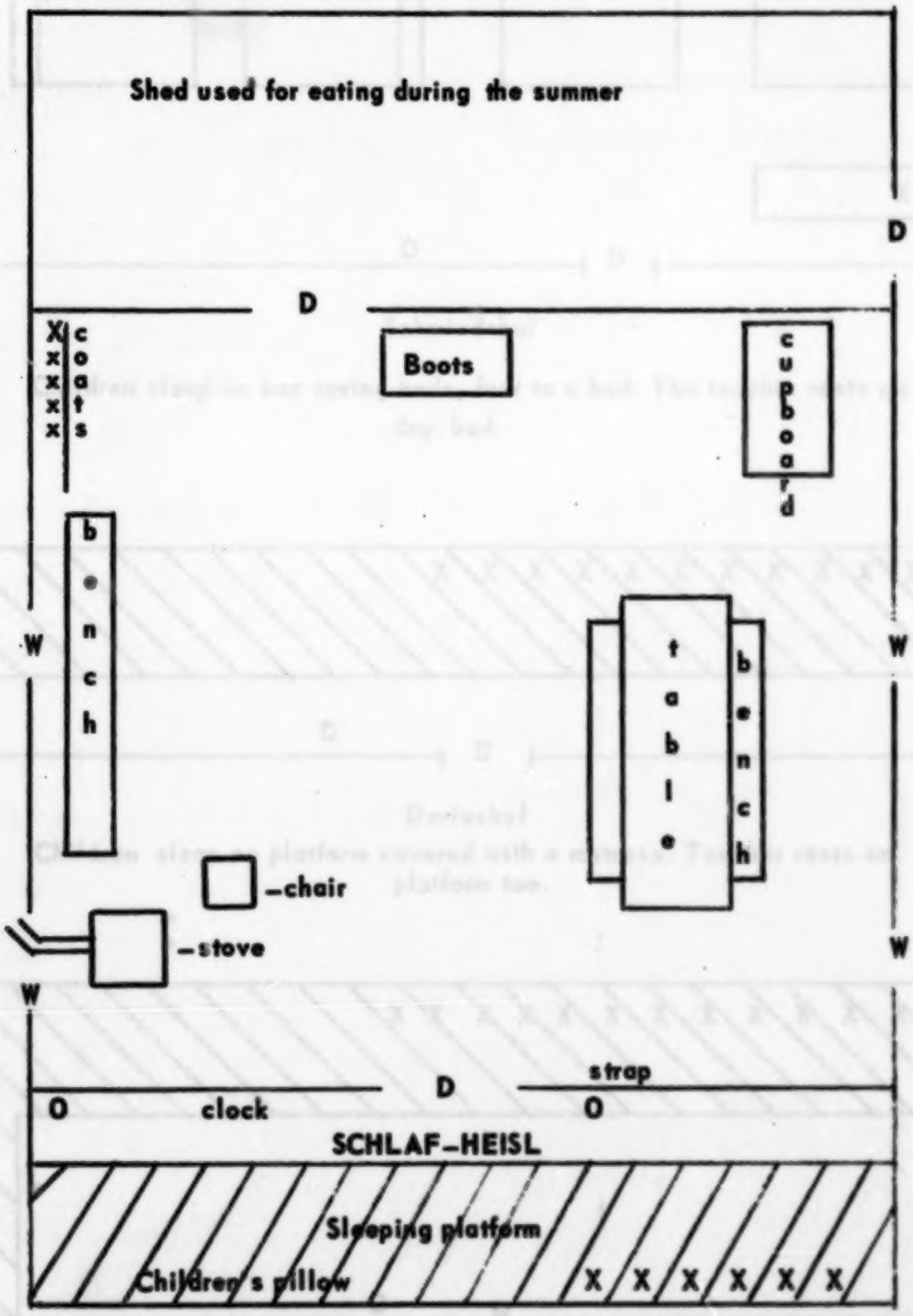

Shed used for eating during the summer
D
D
X x x x x
coats
Boots
cupboard
bench
W
table
bench
W
chair
stove
W
W
strap
O
clock
D
O
SCHLAF-HEISL
Sleeping platform
Children's pillow
X X X X X X

FIGURE 29 – SPATIAL LAYOUT OF KINDERGARTEN FLOOR PLAN, DARIUSHOF

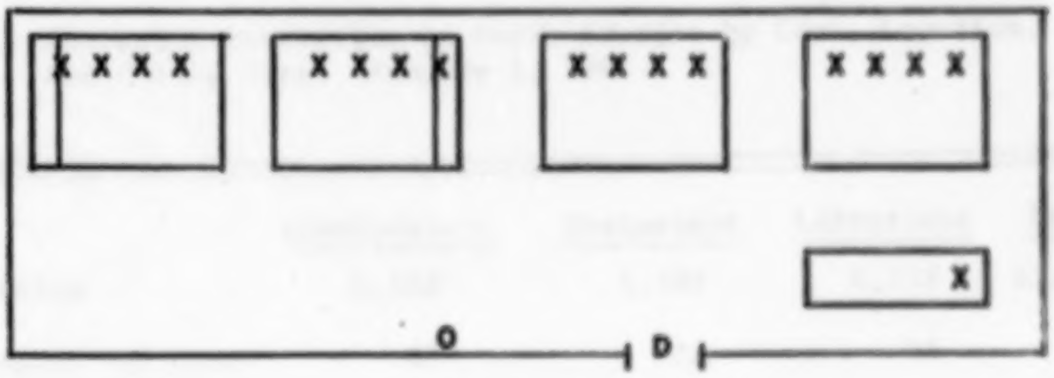
W – window

X – pillow

D – doorway

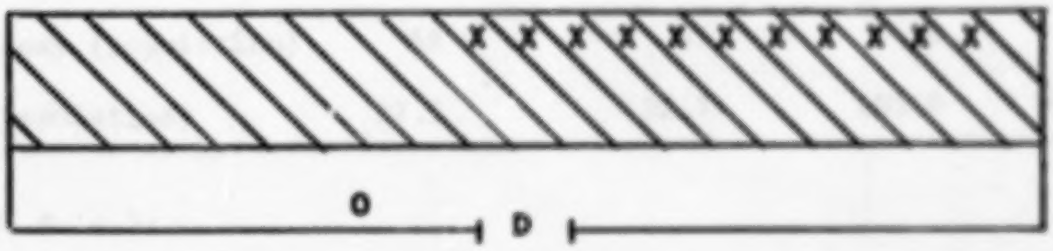
O – potty

During the warm summer weather the table, benches and cupboard are moved into the shed and the middle room is not used. The sleeping platform has two large matresses. The children sleep parallel, with their heads on their own pillows next to the wall.



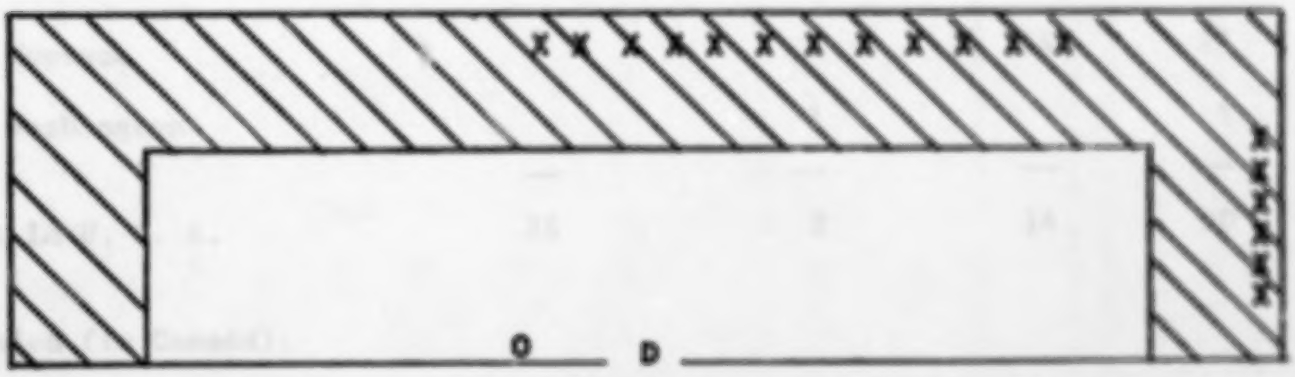
Schmiedehof

Children sleep on box spring beds, four to a bed. The teacher rests on a day bed.



Darioshof

Children sleep on platform covered with a matress. Teacher rests on platform too.



Lehrerhof

Children sleep on platform covered with a blanket then a large sheet of cardboard. Teacher rests on same platform with the children.

FIGURE 30 – KINDERGARTEN SLEEPING ROOM (SCHLAF–HEISL) OF THREE COLONIES

In all colonies the Schlaf-Heisl is located at one end of the building. Each child brings his own pillow from home and leaves it in the kindergarten at his assigned place.

D – doorway

O – potty

X – pillows

Table 1. Hutterite Population in North America by Leut, Location, and Colony Size: January 1, 1962

Categories	Schmiedeleut	Dariusleut	Lehrerleut	Total
Total population	6,528	4,383	4,338	15,249
Number organized colonies	67	53	42	162
Number unorganized colonies (in process of branching)	3	4	1	8
Number of all colonies	70	57	43	170
Largest colony (population)	186	130	142	
Smallest colony (population)	62	45	70	
Mean size (population)	97.5	82.7	103.0	94.0
Location (U. S. A.):				
South Dakota	26			26
North Dakota	1			1
Minnesota	1			1
Montana		7	14	21
Washington		1		1
Total in U. S. A.	28	8	14	50
Location (in Canada):				
Alberta		40	23	63
Saskatchewan		9	6	15
Manitoba	42			42
Total in Canada	42	49	29	120

Source: Conferences of the Hutterian Brethren Church as reported by each colony head. Excluded from this count are the few small groups who are no longer affiliated with the conference.

Table 2. Population of Sample Colonies by Stages of Life: Age, Sex, and Social Function

	Schmiedehof			Lehrerhof			Dariushof		
Age group	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Over 55	2	3(1)	5	1(4)	0	1	1	1	2
35-55	8	6	14	7	8(5)	15	2	3	5
Married to 35	6	8	14	5	5	10	5	4	9
Baptized-unmarried	1	1	2	1	4(6)	5	1	2	3
15 to baptism age	9(2)	4	13	10	7	17(7)	4	3	7
School, 6-15	16	23	39	17	16	33	11	7	18
Kindergarten	12	13	25(3)	4	7	11	3	0	3
House children	5	3	8	3	6	9	5	3	8
Totals	59	61	120	48	53	101	32	23	55
Married couples			16			12			8

Notes:
(1) One widow
(2) Includes one single male over 30 mentally retarded
(3) Includes 17 "runabouts" (Schulela group) ages 5-6: 7 boys, 10 girls
(4) Widower
(5) One widow
(6) One single girl who will likely not marry
(7) In this colony the age category begins at 14 years

Table 3. Analysis of Biblical References in
Peter Rideman: Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith, 1565

Old Testament		Apocrypha		New Testament	
Genesis	188	The Wisdom of Solomon	29	John	285
Deuteronomy	122	II Esdra	21	Romans	256
Isaiah	96	I Maccabees	6	Matthew	222
Psalms	71	Tobit	5	Acts	165
Exodus	70	Baruch	4	Luke	153
Jeremiah	48	I Esdra	4	I Corinthians	140
I Samuel	33		69	Hebrews	109
Ecclesiastes	24			Ephesians	97
Leviticus	20			I Peter	94
Joshua	17			Mark	93
Hosea	14			Galatians	78
Numbers	14			II Corinthians	78
II Chronicles	13			I John	48
Ezekiel	12			Colossians	42
Amos	11			James	35
Judges	11			Phillipians	30
Joel	10			I Timothy	28
Obadiah	10			II Peter	27
Proverbs	10			Revelations	19
Ezra	8			Titus	12
Malachi	6			II Timothy	10
II Samuel	6			II Thess.	9
Daniel	4			I Thess.	8
I Kings	4			II John	6
Micah	3			III John	1
II Kings	2			Jude	0
Song of Solomon	2			Philemon	0
Zechariah	2				2,048
Job	1				
Nehemiah	1				
I Chronicles	0				
Esther	0				
Habakkuk	0				
Haggi	0				
Jonah	0				
Nahum	0				
Ruth	0				
Zephaniah	0				
	833				

230

Total number of references cited: 2,950

This analysis of the Biblical sources of the Hutterian "Confession of Faith" reveals that in the New Testament the Gospel of John is quoted more often than any Epistle of St. Paul, in the Old Testament Genesis is cited most frequently, and the Apocrypha plays a minor but important place as it does today in the sermons.

Table 4. Visitors to Dariushof, Two Week Summer Period

Purpose of visit	Vehicles	Men	Women	Children	Total Persons
Request service	5(1)	5	3		8
Render service	2(2)	3			3
Buy from colony	12(3)	11	10	5	26
Sell to colony	3(4)	3			3
Tourists	8	10	11	3	24
Neighbors	15(5)	15	13	7	35
Total non-Hutterite	30(6)	35	26	8	69
Visit from mother colony	5	9	9	1	19
Visit from related colony (120 mi.)			9		10
Total Hutterite	6	10	18(7)	1	29
Total Visitors	36	45	44	9	98

Notes:
(1) 4 needed welding, and one help with sick cow
(2) Haul cattle, clear land
(3) 9 eggs, 2 cattle, 1 honey
(4) 2 chicken feed, check machine
(5) Usually buying or selling
(6) Vehicles and individuals with more than one purpose for visit were counted only once in the total
(7) Women were on berry picking trip

Leaders of colony contacted (number of vehicles used as unit) by:

	non-Hutterites	Hutterites
Head preacher	7	3
Second preacher	3	1
Householder	6	3
Field boss	1	1
Chicken boss	11	1
German teacher	0	5
Blacksmith	7	2
Pig boss	0	2
Cow boss	1	1

Table 5. Trips Made from Dariushof and Distance Travelled, Two Week Summer Period

Destination one-way (miles)	Number trips	Miles travelled	
100	6	1,200	(1)
80	1	160	(2)
70	1	140	(3)
55	1	110	(4)
40	1	80	(5)
38	5	380	(6)
18	6	256	(7)
14	5	140	(8)
10	3	60	
Total trips and miles	29	2,526	

Notes:

Non-colony trips	21
Other colonies visited	8

(1) Major market center
(2) To other Leut colony to return borrowed equipment
(3) To pick berries to can
(4) To search for tractor part
(5) To search for tractor part
(6) Hospital and doctor
(7) Mother colony
(8) Post Office

Table 6. Responses to Punitive Sentence by Frequency and Per cent of Category Usage, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Categories	Control		Hutterite	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Father	24.5	24.5	38.5	55.0
Mother	6.5	6.5	1.5	2.1
Teacher	11.0	11.0	14.0	20.0
Elder	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.9
Civil Authority	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4
Mode of Punishment	54.0	54.0	6.0	8.5
Non-classifiable	3.0	3.0	7.0	9.9
Total	100	100	70	100

Table 7. Responses to Punishment and Punitive Figure, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Category	Hutterite (N=70)	Control (N=100)
Punitive Figure	57	43
Form of Punishment	6	54

(Non-classifiable responses: Control = 3; Hutterite = 7.)

$X^2 = 32.5$ d.f. = 1 $P < .001$

Table 8. Responses to Punitive Figure, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Category	Hutterite Number	Hutterite Per cent	Control Number	Control Per cent
Father	38.5	67.4	24.5	56.9
Mother	1.5	2.6	6.5	15.1
Teacher	14.0	24.6	11.0	25.6
Elder	2.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
Civil Authorities	1.0	1.8	1.0	2.3

(Percentages were computed on the basis of the total punitive responses, and not the total responses to the item)

Table 9. Aspirations of Hutterite and Control Subjects by Per cent of Category Utilization

Category	Hutterite % of Response	Control % of Response	P Value
Parent	2.9	2	
Parent-Surrogate	0.0	0	
Glamorous Adult	1.4	11	.001
Heroes	5.7	3	
Saints & Religious	1.4	1	
Attractive Adults	5.7	2	
Composite or Imaginary	24.3	51	.01
Age Mates	1.4	1	
Occupation	2.9	5	
Status Quo	27.1	15	.01
Animal	18.6	4	.001
Non-Classifiable	8.6	5	

Table 10. Response to Ideal Age and Mean Ideal Age, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Age Category	Hutterite Number	Hutterite Mean	Hutterite Per cent	Control Number	Control Mean	Control Per cent
1 - 5	1	20.82	1.4	2	19.96	2
6 - 10	2		2.9	1		1
11 - 15	12		17.1	6		6
16 - 20	27		38.6	56		56
21 - 25	11		15.7	21		21
26 - 30	0		0.0	0		0
31 -	5		7.1	6		6
Status Quo	12		17.1	8		8
Total	70		100.0	100		100

Table 11. Response to Wishes, Male and Female Hutterite Subjects

Category	Male per cent Category usage	Female per cent Category usage	P Value
Wealth & Possessions	43.7	22.6	.02
Opportunity/Accomplishment	2.6	9.7	
Vocational/Occupational	7.7	9.7	
Personal Appearance	0	0	
Adventure	10.3	16.1	
Companionship	2.6	12.9	
Relief of Discomfort	2.6	6.5	
Benefits-Parents	0	0	
Benefits-Self	7.7	16.1	
Companionship-Animal	12.8	0	
Philanthropic	0	0	
Non-Classifiable	5.1	3.2	

Table 12. Response to Wishes, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Category	Hutterite % of Category usage	Control % of Category usage	P Value
Wealth & Possessions	38.5	23	
Opportunity/Accomplishment	35.7	6	
Vocational/Occupational	8.6	12	
Personal Appearance	0	2	
Adventure	12.9	5	
Companionship	7.1	10	
Relief of Discomfort	4.3	2	
Benefits-Parents	0	8	.01
Benefits-Self	11.4	5	
Companionship-Animals	7.1	6	
Philanthropic	0	17	.01
Non-Classifiable	4.3	2	

Table 13. Response to Fears, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Category	Hutterite % of Response	Control % of Response	P Value
I. Mediators of Threat			
A) Animals	55.7	16	.001
B) Other Persons	4.3	29	.001
1. Parents	0.0	0	
2. Teacher	0.0	8	.05
3. Opposite Sex	0.0	8	.05
a. Peers	0.0	5	
b. Adults	0.0	3	
4. Siblings	1.4	0	
5. Other People	2.9	13	.01
C) Natural Phenomena	7.1	15	
D) Supernatural	10.0	2	.05
II. Threats: Psychological, Social and Biological			
A) Loss of Affiliation	0.0	2	
B) Exposure	4.3	5	
C) Punishment	1.4	1	
D) Unpredictable	1.4	10	.05
E) Injury, Illness, & Death	1.4	8	.05
F) Dreams/Fantasy	2.9	4	
G) Non-Classifiable	11.4	8	

Table 14. Response to Fears and Worst Happenings, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Category	"Fears" % of Response	"Worst Happening" % of Response	P Value
I. Mediators			
A) Animals	55.7	14.3	.001
B) Other Persons	4.3	7.1	
1. Parents	0.0	0.0	
2. Teacher	0.0	4.9	
3. Opposite Sex	0.0	1.4	
a. Peers	0.0	0.0	
b. Adults	0.0	1.4	
4. Siblings	1.4	0.0	
5. Other People	2.9	1.4	
C) Natural Phenomena	7.1	0.0	.05
D) Supernatural	10.0	0.0	.01
II. Threats: Psychological, Social & Biological			
A) Loss of Affiliation	0.0	8.6	.05
B) Exposure	4.3	2.9	
C) Punishment	1.4	0.0	
D) Unpredictable	1.4	1.4	
E) Injury, Illness & Death	1.4	61.4	.001
F) Dreams/Fantasy	2.9	2.9	
G) Non-Classifiable	11.4	17.1	

Table 15. Response to Self-Concept Categories, Hutterite and Control Subjects

Response Category	Hutterite % of Response	Control % of Response	P Value
Name	5.71	3.66	
Age	7.14	1.33	.01
Sex	7.14	6.00	
Family	9.05	5.33	
Occupation	10.00	1.66	.001
Group Membership	18.57	7.33	.001
A) Religious Affiliation	4.76	1.60	.05
B) General	13.81	5.66	.001
Social	4.29	1.00	
Personal Description	18.81	48.33	.001
A) Positive Affect	10.00	19.33	.001
B) Negative Affect	1.91	16.00	.001
C) Physical Attributes	4.76	2.66	
D) General	1.91	10.33	.001
Unit	0.00	1.33	
Metaphysical	8.10	3.33	
Interests/Special Ability	10.48	14.00	
Non-Classifiable	10.48	6.33	

Table 16. Response to Self-Concept Categories, Hutterite Males and Females

Response Category	Male % of Response	Female % of Response	P Value
Name	[illegible]	5.38	
Age	8.55	5.37	
Sex	5.98	8.60	
Family	8.55	9.68	
Occupation	12.82	6.45	.01
Group Membership	14.53	23.66	
A) Religious Affiliation	4.27	5.37	
B) General	10.26	18.28	.05
Social	2.56	6.45	
Personal Description	26.49	8.60	.01
A) Positive Affect	14.53	4.30	.05
B) Negative Affect	2.56	1.08	
C) Physical Attributes	6.84	2.15	
D) General	2.56	1.08	
Unit	0.00	0.00	
Metaphysical	1.71	5.38	
Interests/Special Abilities	14.53	5.38	.05
Non-Classifiable	9.40	11.96	

Table 17. Social Characteristics of Defectors: Sex, Age at Leaving, Marital Status, Time Elapsed Since Leaving, and Rural-Urban Residence

Categories	Male	Female	Totals
Sex	27	10	37
Age at leaving			
Median	19	19	
Mean	21	21	
Range	16-37	15-22	
Marital status and dependents			
Married	15	3	18
Single	12	7	19
Children	4	3	7
Time elapsed since defection			
1 year or less	3	-	3
Between 1 and 5 years	6	8	14
Between 6 and 10 years	8	2	10
Between 11 and 15 years	3	-	3
Between 16 and 20 years	1	-	1
20 years or more	6	-	6
Present residence			
Rural	17	3	20
Small town	2	2	4
Small urban centre	8	5	13

Table 18. Reasons Given by 37 Defectors for Leaving

Reasons Mentioned	Frequency
Desire for freedom, self-direction	29
Desire to have fun, watch TV, attend movies desire for money, property	12
Inability to get along with leaders	11
Rejection of work roles	11
Curiosity	9
Dislike of Hutterite clothing	8
Desire to practice another religion	7
Desire for more education	6
Persuasion of sibling or Hutterite friend	4
General circumstances	3
Desire to marry non-Hutterite or ex-Hutterite	2
Forced by U. S. government to make decision regarding military service	1
Don't know	1

Table 19. Occupation of Defectors

Occupation	Frequency
Farm laborer	12
Semi-skilled manual	5
Skilled manual	4
Student	4
Housewife (farm owner (farm laborer (semi-skilled	3
Farm owner	2
Farm foreman	2
Nurses Aide	1
Housekeeper-babysitter	1
Army (accepted, awaiting call)	1
Not known	2
Total	37

Table 20. Schooling and Training of Defectors Since Leaving Colony

Type of training	Frequency
Academic	
9th grade	1
High school - 1 year or more	3
High school - few courses	6
Junior college (2 years)	1
Trades courses (welding, electricity, etc.)	6
Business college	1
Nurses Aide School	1
None	16
No answer	2
Total	37

Table 21. Relationship Between Family Type and Colony Type of Defectors

Type of Colony	Type of Family	Frequency	Sons of Leaders
Disorganized	Stricter than most	21	6
Disorganized	Average	4	
Disorganized	Less strict	1	
Cohesive	Stricter than most	4	4
Cohesive	Average	6	
Cohesive	Less strict	-	
No answer		1	
Total		37	10

Table 22. Adjustment Scores of Defectors

Scores	Defectors	Sacred-oriented Defectors Disorganized Colonies	Secular-oriented Defectors Disorganized Colonies	Leaders' Sons Disorganized Colonies	Leaders' Sons Cohesive Colonies	Others - Cohesive Colonies
35 - 40	7	-	-	4	1	1
31 - 35	12	1	7	2	2	-
26 - 30	4	2	2	-	-	-
21 - 25	1	0	-	1	-	-
16 - 20	3	1	-	-	-	2
11 - 15	7	2	1	-	-	4*
6 - 10	2	0	1	1	-	-
0 - 5	1	0	1	-	-	-
Totals	37	6	13	8	3	7

*Three of these are tourists
Range: 5 to 40.

Table 23. Relationship Between Adjustment and Type of Defector

Category of Defector	Adjusted	Marginal	Tourist	Totals
Disorganized Colony				
Sacred-oriented	3	3	-	6
Secular-oriented	10	3	-	13
Leaders' children	7	1	-	8
Cohesive Colony				
Leaders' children	3	0	-	3
Others	1	3	3	7
Totals	24	10	3	37

Table 24. Social Participation as Indicators of Adjustment of Defectors

Membership in secondary organizations (excluding church, work organizations, educational institutions)	Number of respondents		
Category of Defector	Yes	No	Total
Adjusted	2	19	21
Marginal	1	7	8
Tourist	1	2	3
	4	28	32
Voting			
Adjusted	15	4	19
Marginal	4	3	7
Tourists	0	3	3
	19	10	29
Pacifistic			
Adjusted	2	15	17
Marginal	3	4	7
Tourists	2	1	3
	7	20	27
Close relationship with non-Hutterites			
Adjusted	20	3	23
Marginal	2	5	7
Tourists	1	2	3
	23	10	33

Table 25. Church Affiliation and Strength of Religious Orientation of Defectors

Church Attended	Adjustment of Defector			Type of Colony	
	Adjusted	Marginal	Tourist	Disorganized	Cohesive
Mennonite Brethren	4	3	-	7	-
Free Methodist	4	2	-	5	1
Methodist	3	1	-	3	1
Assembly of God	2	-	-	2	-
Baptist	1	-	-	-	1
Christian Science	1	-	-	-	1
Lutheran	-	2	-	2	-
United	1	-	-	-	1
Anglican	1	-	-	1	-
Roman Catholic	1	1	-	1	1
None	4	-	3	4	3
Totals	22	9	3	25	9

Strength of Religious Orientation	Adjustment of Defector			Type of Colony	
	Adjusted	Marginal	Tourist	Disorganized	Cohesive
Strong	6	6	-	10	3
Medium	6	1	3	4	6
Weak	10	2	-	12	0
Totals	22	9	3	26	8

APPENDIX G

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